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THE BOOKE OF THE
PYLGREMAGE OF THE SOWLE

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

GUILLAUME DE GUILLEVILLE

AND PRINTED BY WILLIAM CAXTON AN. 1483 WITH ILLUMINATIONS

TAKEN FROM THE MS. COPY IN THE

BRITISH MUSEUM

EDITED BY KATHERINE ISABELLA CUST



LONDON
BASIL MONTAGU PICKERING
196 PICCADILLY

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Prefatory Note by the Editor.



N submitting the second "*Pilgrimage*" of De Guileville to the Public, the Editor must again express her thanks to Edward Levien, Esq. M.A., F.S.A. of the British Museum, for the assistance he has rendered her throughout the work.

She also returns her grateful acknowledgments to the Rev. Edward Polehampton, M.A. and the Rev. Thomas S. Polehampton, M.A., Fellows of Pembroke Coll. Oxford, who have written a Preface, which she feels will not only enhance the value of the work by its own intrinsic merit, but also, by inducing many to master the quaint language in which the "*Pilgrimage*" is written, will lead them to become acquainted with the rich store of hidden beauties that are contained therein. To those who have perused the Memoir, in which they have recorded a brother's sincere endurance even unto death, as exemplified in his ministerial labours as a true soldier of the Cross, their names may be an additional encouragement to study the following pages, in which the same blessed course is shadowed forth in the writings of an ancient Chronicler, manifestly witnessing that, in every age, thoughtful and loving minds have recognized the fact that happiness in its highest degree consists in that singleness of heart and devotedness to Christ, which cannot be more lucidly and, at the same time, more beautifully expressed, than in the following passage of the late Sir Humphrey Davy: "I envy no quality of the mind or intellect in others; not genius, power, wit, or fancy; but, if I could choose what would be most delightful to me, and, I believe, most useful, I should prefer '*a firm religious belief*' to every other blessing: it makes life a discipline of goodness; creates new hopes, when all earthly hopes vanish, and throws over the decay—the destruction of existence—the most gorgeous of all lights; awakens life even in death, and from corruption and decay calls up beauty and divinity, making torture and sorrow the means of ascent to Paradise."

Advertisement to the Reader.

THIS translation of the "Pylgremage of the Sowle" was made from the French, with additions, in the year 1413. The translator, or at least the author of the "additions," (which consist of poetry in seven-lined stanzas,) was in all probability Lydgate; for the 34th chapter of Lydgate's metrical "Life of the Virgin Mary" is literally repeated in the 34th chapter of this translation of "The Charter of Mercy."

The parts omitted in the present volume relate entirely to Mariolatry or the worship and adoration of the Virgin Mary, as an intercessor with God for mankind, and contain quaint descriptions of purgatory and abstruse metaphysical doctrines, which it was felt could neither be of advantage nor interest to the general reader.

The Editor is indebted to friends for facsimiles of the drawings which have been copied from the originals, and lithographed by Mr. Vincent Brooks. Those in colour being from the illuminated MS. translation in the British Museum (Egerton 615), and those in block printing from the prose French edition of the "Pylgremage of the Sowle," printed by Verard, at Paris, in 1499.



Preface.

TWO feelings are there very natural to man—two errors, into which he is apt to fall. The first is the love of this world, in which, finding many pleasant things, he fancies he is ever to remain: the other is the desire to know more of the future life, in which, in his moments of calmer and deeper thought, he feels that he must soon be, and of the nature of which so little has been revealed. From the latter of the two arises the fondness for such works as this volume contains. Five hundred years ago, we have reason to suppose, they who read, loved much to read the following strange pages. The ground on which they stood was uncertain: they would try the promise of that which was before them. Here and there, in the curtained stillness of their chambers, lay a Body—but a few days ago full of life, bright with beauty, ready for action:—now silent and still; cold and waxen to the touch; more lovely perchance in features, but ever the same; no thought beaming from its closed eyes; no pride, or gentleness, or love hovering about its lips: no eagerness lifting the hand or hastening the foot. “Life and thought here no longer dwell.”* “Where is the Soul,” they ask, “which lately animated this motionless figure? To what lands has it fled? With what companions holds it converse? What fears or hopes, what joys or sorrows does it feel? ’Tis said that it has to give account of all that it and the Body thought and said and did together. If, as we believe, this be true, but the day of that account be not yet come, what does it, what shall it do, where does it sleep, or whither does it wander during

* Tennyson.

“ those years, which must complete their course, ere the dread trumpet shall sound and call it to the Assize ? ” In some such way probably they of the 13th Century would question their teachers or their own minds. And, if the answer came somewhat dark, somewhat fanciful, who shall wonder ? Do not *we* experience the same longing ? Do not *our* teachers sometimes return the same doubtful answer ? And yet are we not, as it were, spell-bound by what we learn ? Have not the replies, which thoughtful men among us return to our questionings, something of the same mysterious charm which hung about the oracles and sages of long-forgotten days ? There is surely in our nature, and far more in our renewed than in our unrenewed nature, a desire, which religion checks, but does not extinguish, of looking beyond the veil which parts the seen from the unseen. Time hurries on, and some minds among us open as the years advance, but not all. Here and there a master-spirit, after much apparently fruitless toil, in a bright moment stays and follows out a thought, and thence come improvements in science or in art, for which the world has long been waiting, without knowing its want : and soon the whole face of things is changed. Men are enabled to pass to and fro at a speed which their grandfathers would have deemed fabulous : a new agent, akin to the lightning of heaven, and more wondrous in its powers than the tongue itself, flashes their thoughts from continent to continent ; day after day brings forth, as from an inexhaustible storehouse, the means of recruiting or prolonging life, and fearful engines for its destruction. So far as the connection of soul and body in this life is concerned, these things, and such as these, expand the minds of the educated classes, and indirectly perhaps, to some extent, those of the uneducated also ; but yet the knowledge of all alike is bounded by the day of Death.

Since the last drop of ink dried on the pages of the Apocalypse, the veil between the seen and the unseen worlds has been no further drawn aside. The Beloved Disciple's chamber in Patmos held as much knowledge of the future as the most learned halls of our English Universities hold now. St. John was allowed to see more than any one of mortals before or since, and what he saw he was bidden to write in a Book ; but what is it ? Of infinite beauty, and importance so great that a heavenly blessing is attached to its prayerful and reverential study : but it is limited to a few points : making clear the final results to which our deeds here will lead : showing us, with the simple majesty of inspired language, the Angels flying forth from Heaven to summon all souls to judgment, and to seal the Redeemed with the Seal of

God; the Judge on His Throne; the binding of Satan; the fate of those who shall have died in his accursed service: but the space between death and judgment was left dark by St. John, and is dark still. His eye was not suffered to trace, nor may the eye of the holiest or the most learned trace now the flight of any disembodied spirit. We know something of what the Souls are while in the Body, and much of what they shall be after the last Great Day: but the cloud is over all the rest; and it will hang there impenetrable, till before the Brightness of Christ's Presence it shall remove, when He comes in His glory.

Of course, even the Faithful, humbly though they bow to the will of Him who has veiled and alone can unveil the future, must ever and anon desire to look into the state which shall be theirs when the burden of the flesh is laid aside. Death, I know, shall remove me from the state in which I now am: if the Bible were silent, all within me says there is another state to follow; and what this is I *must* wish to know. We, however, who, by inheritance, as well as by our own happy experience, have learnt the value of the Bible, will not go beyond its plain teaching, or the unforced inferences which follow from it. De Guileville was not so held back. It seemed his duty to weave into his story of the "Pylgremage of the Sowle" the legends of his branch of the Church. And while we, living in times when the Book of God may be in the hands of all, and is thought worthy of the deepest study of the most learned of every rank, cannot but judge that much of what he wrote is unwarranted by Scripture, we cannot help feeling that so serious and earnest a book as that, which we here rescue from forgetfulness, told to our fathers and may tell to ourselves many a lesson, to which if we attend, we shall be sadder perhaps, but certainly wiser, and better, and more careful Christians. For aught we are told in holy Scripture, much of what he describes may be our lot after we have yielded to death. We cannot but walk to some extent in darkness. That "the souls of the Righteous are in the Hand of God, and there shall no torment touch them," we know. They are safe, and we need know no more. That we too may be safe, if we cast ourselves on the mercy of the Almighty and follow His commands, while we live here, with loving diligence, we are assured also; and any further speculations must be restrained within a reverent limit. But what wonder if, when ingenious men have dreamed and recorded their dreamings about the soul, simpler minds in all ages, no less deeply interested in the subject, should read of their visions with eagerness? Marvels must always attract children: and are we not all children

in our knowledge of these topics? The twilight in which the early Christians walked was twilight still in the days of De Guileville; its shadows were unremoved in the time of John Bunyan: and, if we are nearer to the dawn, the difference is, as yet, scarcely perceptible.

Of late years it seems that John Bunyan's works have come into more notice than for sometime they had received. The cause of this we need not inquire; but one of the results has been that those writings from which he may have borrowed have met also with more attention. The present reprint is a continuation of a work on which it has with much reason been supposed that the "Pilgrim's Progress" was based, viz. "The Booke of the Pylgrymage of Man," published by Mr. Pickering in 1858. There are between the work of John Bunyan and the earlier work of De Guileville many points of resemblance. But Bunyan, wisely perhaps, stopped short at the Death of his Pilgrims; telling, indeed, how they were led by the Shining Ones, who received them beyond the River, to the Gate of Heaven, but passing over in silence the intermediate state. De Guileville, however, living at an earlier period and in the Romish Communion, is restrained by no such scruples. He does not hesitate to answer that question, which must have occurred to many, "What is the Soul doing between the moment of its departure from the body, and the final Judgment?" Or again, the question, "Is there any previous Judgment?" His reply to the latter question, on which the Bible is wholly silent, is, of course, mere fancy; but in his answer to the former there is enough of truth to fix the attention of thoughtful readers, and to deserve it as well. He writes in a reverent manner, and, if he adds to Scripture, he may certainly be acquitted of all charges of wresting or obscuring the real Gospel.

A brief sketch of this and the former work will, we think, establish this assertion, and at the same time enable us to draw attention to a few of the more striking and beautiful passages.

The Pilgrim, like Bunyan's *Christian*, having being allowed a glimpse of the wondrous beauty of the Celestial City, desires to take his journey thitherward. While he is meditating how to proceed, he is accosted by "a lady of ful gret ffayrnesse," named *Grace-Dieu*, who asks him why he "wepyth;" and on his answering that it is because he knows not how he may reach heaven, she says:—

" To pylgrymes day and night
" I enlumine and give light

“ To all pylgrymes in ther way
“ As well in dyrkneffe as be day
* * * * *
“ And so thow shalt me call in dede
“ Whan thow haft on to me nede
“ And that shall be ful offte sythe
“ That I may my power kythe
“ Telp the in thy pylgrymage
“ For fynally in thy vyage
“ As thow goft to that cyte
“ Thou shalt have offte aduersyte
“ Wych thow mayft nat in no degre
“ Passe nor endure withoute me
“ Nor that cyte never atteyne
“ Thogh thow ever do thy peyne
“ Withoute that I thy guyde be.”

We have here the first grand truth of the Gospel, that in every step of the Christian's pilgrimage the grace of God must be his guide. She tells him next that he must enter the Church of Christ by the way of Baptism—

“ For other weye is ther noon
“ To Jerusalem for to goon.”

And through this passed once the King Himself, to

“ Schewe example by Hys grace
“ How other folkys sholde passe.”

When therefore he has been, after some difficulty, persuaded of the necessity of Baptism, he is taken by his Advocate (who corresponds with our Sponsors) to the Official of the House of *Grace-Dieu*, and with the sacred words dedicated to the service of the Most High.

“ And from me now ys taken al
“ By thys ylke offycyal,
“ He hath my clothys fro me rauht
“ And thre tyme he hath me kauht
“ And in the ryver plunged me
“ Crosseyd as men myghte fee.”

[With this passage it may be interesting to compare one by the great Christian poet of our own day in his "Lyra Innocentium," page 1.

"Once in His Name, who made thee,
 "Once in His Name, who died for thee,
 "Once in His Name, who lives to aid thee,
 "We plunge thee in Love's boundless sea.

"Christian, dear child, we call thee,
 "Threefold the bath, the Name is one;
 "Henceforth no evil dream befall thee,
 "Now is thy heavenly rest begun.

"Yet in sharp hours of trial
 "The mighty seal must needs be proved;
 "Dread spirits wait in stern espyal:
 "But name thou still the Name beloved."]

Grace-Dieu then shows the Pilgrim many wonderful things, such as Bunyan represents Christian seeing in the house of the "Interpreter," and warns him that, if he is to enter the Celestial City, it must be "through much tribulation." Finally, (for, as these points have been noticed in the volume already published, we need not stay to refer to them again,) having passed through life beset with dangers and trials and sorrows, the Pilgrim meets with *Old Age, Infirmary, and Death*. And this brings us to the present volume. In the few prose quotations which we purpose making, we shall, for the sake of convenience, adopt the modern spelling; and we shall touch upon those points chiefly which may show the excellencies of our Author, while we desire our readers to believe that we are fully alive, as we would have them also be, to what we hold to be his unauthorized additions to the simplicity of the Bible.

Great prominence is given by De Guileville to the doctrines of "Guardian Angels," "The Personality of Satan," "Purgatory," and a "Previous Judgment." And though some of these are, to say the least, questionable doctrines, we would mention also, as especially insisted on by him, the teaching that no outward privileges can avail without inward holiness; that the constant presence of *Grace-Dieu* is indispensably necessary; and that they only who have in humility and earnestness and oft-renewed penitence striven against

fin, are of a certainty saved by the unwearied mercy of God through Christ. Notice, too, how he repeats emphatically that "not by works of righteousness, which we have done, but according to His mercy He hath saved us:" that our best acts weigh nothing against our natural vileness, but that the charter purchased by Mercy in Heaven is accepted against all the claims of Satan.

We have first the Soul, which, at the close of the poem of the "Pilgrimage of Man," Death had set free, rising from the earth. "Methought that "I had long time travailed towards the Holy City of Jerusalem, and that I "had made an end and fully finished my fleshly pilgrimage. Then came "cruel Death and smote me with his venomous dart, through which stroke "body and soul were parted asunder. And so anon I felt myself lift up into "the air, seeing myself departed from my foul body; which when I beheld "lying all dead without any moving, seemed to me so foul and horrible, that "had I not right late before issued therefrom, I would not have supposed "that ever it had been mine. Then came there to this body the noble "worthy lady Dame Misericorde and covered it, lapping it in a clean linen "cloth; and so full honestly laid it in the earth." How beautiful here is the personification of Mercy employed in paying the last reverent rites to the lifeless body! But we follow the Soul. Immediately Satan claims it as his own. He has long waited for it, he says; and it has now lost that Lady that was its helper and counsellor, Dame *Grace-Dieu*. In awful fear the poor Soul would have been "grievously discomfited," had it not seen a "fayre yongling" approaching, its guardian Angel. He, remonstrating with Satan, insists that the question be laid before Michael, the Provost of Heaven. "But," rejoins Satan, "this soul, though it was baptized, afterwards wilfully "sinned and is mine of right. And as to Michael, thou dost me open wrong "for to assign me a judge, that is and ever hath been my capital enemy, "Michael, that drove me out of heaven." The Angel, however, maintaining that all souls must be tried by Michael, "For the Judge is of the Sovereign King assigned to that office, not for this pilgrim only, but generally for all," the three together wend their way to his court. There find they many other souls in like case, each attended by its guardian Angel, and its accusing Sathanas. The Angels go within the veil; the Souls and the Evil Spirits remain without. Then the Devils make great complaint of the mercy shown to the Souls; especially of the fact that each has its guardian. "There is none so "caitiff pilgrim that he hath not assigned him a warden the hour of his

See Rom. ii.
25.

“ birth, the which at all times after is continually abiding with him to keep
“ him and defend him from our hands, and specially from the time that he
“ is washen in the salt lye, which is ordained and devised by *Grace-Dieu*, that
“ ever hath been our enemy.” (Page 6.)

The Judgment being finally set, Michael being the Judge, and the Cherubim
with Justice and Mercy his Assessors, and “ for the Gentiles, St. George ; for
“ clerks, St. Nicolas ; for hermits and solitary men, St. Anthony ; St. Benet
“ for monks ; for wedded folk, St. Paul ; for widows, St. Anne ; for maidens
“ and young women, St. Catharine ;” the Guardian Angel presents this Soul
to the Judge ; and, “ Of this,” he says, “ I will bear him good record, that he
“ has clearly kept his belief to this last end, nor ever has he laid aside his
“ scrip or his burdon, as becometh a good pilgrim.” But Satan answers,
“ Truly it availeth not to pass the water, nor to be washed therein, without
“ he keep him afterwards in cleanness and honesty. This pilgrim was washed
“ without his own accord, and since he came to years of discretion, this
“ washing he hath disallowed. He bears in his face the mark of deadly
“ wilful sin. This washing rather causeth him to be judged to our company
“ than if he had not been washed. The more gifts, the more grace ; the
“ greater wages, the higher estate ; the more worthy and noble office that a
“ man receiveth of his lord and king, the more he offendeth and the more
“ pain he deserves, if he be false and traitor to his lord.” (Pages 9, 10.)

The Soul, being bidden to defend itself, throws itself wholly on the
Judge’s mercy, knowing it has no merit to plead. It knoweth not whither
to look for any advocate but Jesus, for in life it had served no saint in special
to whom it might turn itself ; this, therefore, is its piteous complaint :—

* * * *

“ To Thee, Jesu, the Son of God above,
“ That were of Mary, veray mayd, bore,
“ In veray fleshe and bloode for man’s love—
“ To Thee will I appealen now byfore !
“ Syth Thou art veray man and furthermore
“ Our brother, and a parte of oure kinde,
“ Good ryght it is that we Thy favour finde.

* * * *

“ For sooth it is where finne and wretchednesse
“ Aboundeth most, there needeth most of grace
“ To those that asken Thee forgivenessse :

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“ It fitteth Thee not to wyre away Thy face ;
“ Thy charity will clayme there his place.”

* * * *

Justice then rises and says, that “repentance nor prayer may have no place in this court;” and while the Judge again bids the Soul speak on its own behalf, Satan interrupts and calls *Conscience* to witness. *Conscience* then professes to know the innermost thoughts, and says that he often warned and would have restrained the Soul. And he reminds it that had it kept the Image, in which it was created, he could not have accused it: but it has sinned and can no longer take exception to any accuser. Again *Justice* pleads against it: she reminds it of all *Grace-Dieu* had said and written to it: how she had warned it of the suddenness with which *Death* would come, and of the danger of slumber and sloth: how neither the heat of youth nor the weakness of age may be its excuse: how she urged it to look on to the last day.

“ Alas! what thinkest thou? what wilt thou say,
“ Upon that day of anger and of dread,
“ Unto the high Judge, who sits Sovereign?
“ What dost thou, man? why takest thou no heed?”

Justice is followed by *Reason*, and Satan again demands judgment: then *Mercy* pleads for the Soul in the name of Jesus Christ: and when its good deeds and its deserts have been placed in one scale, and in the other its sins and Satan’s claims, and the latter have prevailed, *Mercy* flies to heaven and brings down a charter of pardon sealed with the Redeemer’s blood; this being placed in the lighter scale, causes the other immediately to kick the beam. And so it is resolved that the Soul shall go to Purgatory, and when its foulness has been burnt away in the fires, shall at length be admitted to eternal bliss.

In the second portion of the Book, in which very much of Romish fable is mixed up with truth, is a beautiful song of redeemed saints, and a fearful description of the final leading away to torment of damned souls. The latter may well be compared with John Bunyan’s story of the lost, who were carried to the door in the side of the hill.

Not the least instructive chapters are those which contain the dialogue between the Body and the Soul, in which each bitterly accuses the other of being the cause of the sorrows that it suffers. Here we are reminded of the Apostle’s words: “I keep under my body and bring it into subjection.” The

Page 44.

Page 52.

1 Cor. ix. 27.

Page 59.

Pſalm lxxxv.
10, 11.

Soul was ever intended to be the maſter, and if it ſuffer the Body, by undue compliance with its ſuggeſtions, to drag it down to fin, it may not complain if it bear it alſo into hell. But, “Ye that be predeſtinate to ſalvation,” ſays the Angel, “and ſhall hereafter be rejoined as friends, ye ought not to ſtrive, “but ye ſhould be of accord.” “Then my foul body began to hold him ſtill, “and ſpake no word. And I alſo held my peace, and would no more ſay, “ſave only that I bade him adieu; ‘and God grant,’ quoth I, ‘that I may “be with thee hereafter in the ſovereign joy.’”

In the Fifth Book, the whole of which will be found exceedingly beautiful, is related how the Soul after purgatory is led by its Guardian Angel to heaven. “Now,” ſays the Angel, “ſhall I lead thee thither, for I have leave of the “Provost and all his aſſeſſors, that there be preſent with him. For now be “*Miſericorde* and *Juſtice* accorded together; and ſo be as well *Reason*, *Truth*, “and *Equity*, without gainſaying; all they be one and of one will.”

We would particularly draw the reader’s attention to the ſtory of the larks (page 69) who ſang in the air, “nothing elſe ſaying but ever, ‘Jefu, Jefu!’ “Theſe be the birds that God Almighty made to that intent, that mortal folk “ſhould take their example. Theſe be called larks, which in Latin have the “name of praifing and worſhipping, and be called ‘*alaudæ*,’ not without “cauſe. For why? They riſe and mount far from the earth, and ſpread their “wings, praifing God with their merry ſong, and all their diſport and play is “to ſing, ‘Jefu!’”

The analyſis we have given of this “Book of the Pylgrymage of the Sowle” will, we hope, lead ſome to read the book itſelf, and we venture to promiſe them much pleaſure, more than equal to the pains they may take in maſtering the language. There is much, no doubt, of what is childiſh, and ſome which is unſound; but there is much alſo of deeply important truth, conveyed in words of beautiful ſimplicity; and if we may turn the quaint lines of George Herbert a little from their original purpoſe, we would ſay—

“Do not grudge

“To pick out treasures from an earthen pot.”

We can perhaps ſcarcely eſtimate the influence for good which De Guilleville’s works had in their time, whether in the original, or in the tranſlations, nor tell how much of earneſt ſcriptural teaching they may have carried into the homes of our anceſtors. Many an unſteady ſoul may have trembled as it

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read the accusations of *Satan* or of *Conscience*, the stern demands of *Justice*, or the sentence of the Judge, which, if here represented as being pronounced at too early a stage, is none the less a sentence in accordance with truth on the wilful and impenitent; and many a fearful soul may have been cheered and comforted by the gentle sayings of *Grace-Dieu* or *Dame Misericorde*. It may be so still. We, who live in an age when books abound on every subject, may in this volume see some familiar truth put in (to us) a new light, and clothed in a garb more attractive than any in which it has before been presented; and, however all this may be, we shall not do amiss in offering from our hearts the modest, charitable, earnest prayer of our Author: "Now, "Jesu, give me grace for to come to the truth of this bliss, whereof I have "dreamed, so that I may here deserve for to have it perfectly without end! "And so may He do to all those that goodly and benignly expound my "adventurous dream, and goodly correct where it needeth ought to be added "or withdrawn." He, like Bunyan, "awoke, and behold it was a dream." If we live as they advise, we shall awake with them hereafter, and the joy they so reverently and beautifully describe shall be no dream, but an unfading reality.



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LIBER PRIMUS.

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The Ihesu the sone of god aboue
That Were of Mary Veray mayd bore
In Veray flesshe & bloode for mans loue
So the Wyl I appelen now byfore
Synth thou art Veray man and ferthezmore
Oure broder & a parte of oure kynde
Good ryght it is that We thy fauour synde

This dar I sey synth that thou Wylfully
Were done to deth only for mans sake
And of thy selue Was none encheson Why
This Wote I Wel thou Wylt nought forsake
That to thy grace Wyl al hym self bytake
And aske it, as often haue I lernyd
Was neuer none yet, to Whom it Was bidden

This Wote I Wel I haue ful soore offendyd!
The mageste Wherof I me repente
Ful late it Was oz I my lyf amendyd
But yet ne come it neuer in myn entent
To desalowe thy gouernement
That lord and kyng I haue the clepyd euer
Thy lawes also ne forsoke I neuer

My skrypp of feyth ne haue I nought forlete
But hole ryght as it Was bytaken me
I haue it kepte, but that no thynges grete
This Wote I Wel susteyned I for the
Ne done that I Was bounden of dewte
Yet Wote I Wel / so grete is nought my synne
As grace and mercy is the Ihesu Withynne



Incipit Liber Primus.

Here begynneth the book of the pylgremage of the fowle
late tranflated oute of Frenſhe in to Englyſhe.

Fiſt, how the fowle departyth fro the body ; and how the fowle fend affayleth the fowle.



AS I laye in a Seynt laurence nyght ſlepyng in my bedde, me befelle
a full merueylous dreame, which I ſhall reherce. Me thought that
I had longe tyme trauayled toward the holy Cyte of Jeruſalem, and
that I had made an ende and fully fyniſhed my fleſhly pylgremage ;
ſo that I myght no further trauayle vpon my foote, but nedes muſte
leue behynde my fleſhly careyne. Thenne come cruel dethe, and
ſmote me with his venemous darte ; thorough whiche ſtroke bodye
and fowle were partyd aſonder. And ſoo anone I felt my ſelf lyft vp in to the eyer,
ſeyng my ſelf departed fro my fowle bodye ; whiche, whan I byhelde lyeng al dede
withouten any mouyng, ſemyd me ſo fowle and horryble, that, had I nought ryght late
ther byfore yſſued ther fro, I wold nought haue ſuppoſed that euer it had ben myn.
Thenne come ther to this body the noble worthy lady dame Miſericord, and kevered it,
lappying (it) in a clene linnen clothe ; and ſo ful honeſtly leide it in the erthe. I ſawe
alſo the Auterer, that clepyd is dame prayer, how that ſhe ſped hyr to heuen ward,
wonder haſteley bifore me, for to byſeke the ſoverayne lord of grace and of mercy—for
no doute I had ful huge meſtier ther of—for why the fowle horrible Sathanas I ſawe
comyng to ward me ful cruelly manacyng me and ſeyng in this wiſe :



HAVE here longe tyme abyden the, and priuely for the leyn in awayte, ſoo is
it now befalle that I haue not failed of my purpoſ ; for now art thou taken
with me, and now muſt thou wende in to myne habitacyon, condemnyd by
ryght wiſ judgement of the ſoueraigne Juge : for now haſt thou loſte that lady that was

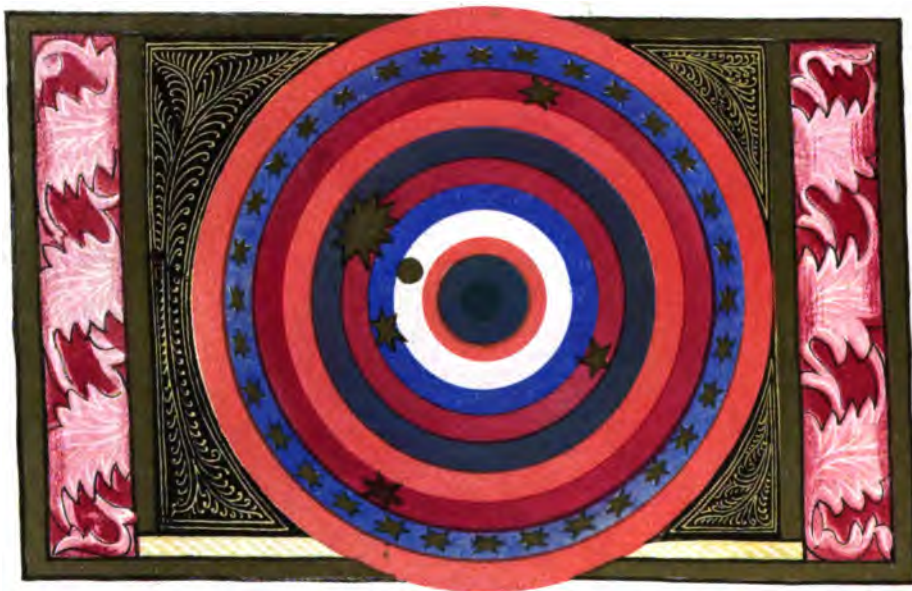
Pylgremage of the Sowle.

thyne helper and thyn counseillour, Dame grace de dieu ; hit avayleth the nought for to loke after hyr. Now arte thou myn pryfonner. Caste doune thy scrippe and thy burdon, for al thy pylgremage is comen to a jape. Thou shalt ful sone be brought in such a cage, where thou shalt no talent have to laugh, ne to synge ; but wel myght thou wel say, ‘ Allas ! why, and to what purpoos had god formed me for to ben encombred with foo moche meschyef ? ’ ” And whan I this sawe and herde, ful greuously hadde I be discomfortyd, hadde I nought sene a fayr Yonglyng of ful huge beaute, that me alwey costeyed.

And at the laste he neyhed me, and sone I apperceyued his persone and his offyce. He began to speke, and sayd to this Sathanas, “ Thy malyce,” quod he, “ and thy curfydnesse is ever prest and redy for to tarye and dyssewe symple fowles, with whiche thou hast nought at al to medle ne entermete ; but wonder wyckedly woldest thou trete them, yf foo were that no wyght wold help them ne defende. Flee thy weye fast ! and goo, clayme thy ryght in other place, for with this fowle thou shalt nought have to medle.” Then sayd this Sathanas with a despytous chere : — “ Flee thou fast hennes,” quod he, “ for thou hast nought to withsaye me of pylgryms that mysgoyn, which by theyr owne mysgouvernance forlettyth the ryght way of vertu, and take my wey. I ne clayme nought ther thy ryght is ; no more ne clayme thou ther myn is ! for what time that the souerayne kynge had banyshed me oute of his blysfyl prefence, and cast me doune in to this mysfery and mescheuous estate, that I now am ynne, he gaf me thenne lycence at the lefte ; he hath me suffred to doo moche thyng to engendre, and to portreye figures to my resemblance, the which I clepe myn own creatures : as enuye, Treson, and such other with all the generacyon of these old vyces that walkyn by the world in my name for to lette pylgryms of theyr weye.

“ And now have I done so moche that the multytude of my generacyon is grete, and every day encrecyng.

“ Wherfor, it must nedes come to that ende, that no pylgrym escape, that he ne shal be snarlyd in my trappe ; and al they must passe by me, and namely they that wylfully foruoyen, as this hath done, whiche that I clayme as for my pryfoner. For he ne couthe ever gone other than wrong wey, this wotest thou wel thy self ; he neuer byleuyd the of no thyng, ne dyde by thy confeyl, but alwey enforcyd hym for to do that was to thy dyspleyng syth the tyme that thou fyrste took hym, and the charge of hys governance. That was the tyme whan thou sawest fyrste passe the water for to come in to the hous of grace dieu, where that she gaf hym many fair gyftes ; there, where thou thy self specially assigned for to withdrawe hym by thy good conseil fro all maner of euyl, and for to defende hym fro my handes. And also be it that thou hast done thy labour and besynesse, he couthe the neuer thanck. This wotest thou wel thy self. Ne neuer he ne sette by the, ne dide the reuerence, ne leste his fowle lustes in priue, ne aperte, bycause of thy prefence. I wote neuer why thou defendist hym ! hit semeth me folye ; thou hast no cause thereto ! Lete me alone therfore, to do that my ryght is ; for nothing skilfully may lette me therof.”



CAPITULO II.*

How the Angel wardeyn of the Sowle defendith fro the fendis malice.

HIS yongling answerd than, and saide, "I have wel and pleyntly herd and vnderstonde thy wordys, and wel I wote that there neuer was of these, ne of none other, no malyce purpoosyd, ne perfourmed, but only thurgh thy wykkedness; and yf thou haddest any good conne, such maner of malyce had neuer be purpoosyd." "How myzt thou say," quod he, "that I ne couth no good, sith that the prophete preyfeth me so moche that he sayde I was ful of wysedom, and of beaute? Yf I was ful of wysedome, how was I vnconnyng as thou seyst, was cause of al meschyf?" To this answerd this yonglyng, (myn Aungel,) "These wordes," quod he, "whiche were sayd of the prophete Ysaye apperteyneth to thy mayster Lucyfer; but he, and his mynysteres ben one in effect. Wherfor I admytte these wordys seyde to the, and I graunt wel that thou were ful of wysedom as the prophete seyth, and yet coutheft thou no good. But thou were of thylke that he spekyth of elles were, and seith '*Sapientes sunt ut faciant mala, bonum autem facere nescierunt.*' Thou and thy feloushyp were wyse ynowe, ye, veray ful of wysedom, for to done euyl thynges, but good thynges couthe ye neuer doo: for wysedom is taken there but for an abylyte of connyng; whiche abylyte is indyfferent to good and to euyl: and thow applyedest thyne abylyte to the werse partye, and soo coutheft thou neuer good, but moche malyce and wykkednes, and so thou techeft other; so that had nought thy cursyd wysedom be, then had neuer malyce be purpoosyd. For veray sothe it is, that the performyng of malyce standyth nought in thy power, but only in goddes suffraunce; but the purpoosyng of malyce is thyne owne prope, whiche God ne oweth not of ryght to byreuen the. Soo thenne, thow bysyest the, after thy propyrte, to purpose malyce, and for to torne good purpoos in to euyl; and so hast thou done alwey syth thou bygan. So is that curfed nombre encrecyd, which thou clepeft thy creatures; that is, the cursyd multitude of synnes accursyd of the souerayne creatour that seyth, '*Maledicta creatura eorum, quia inutilis*—accursyd be the creature of them for it is vnprofytable.' And so, yf that my pylgrim hath ought done that is vnprofytable, that is by the and of thyne excytyng, in that thou hast steryd agenst hym all that cursyd company. Nought so that I purpose ne enforce ne nought for to excuse hym of al, ne for to mayntene hym in any maner errour. But as touchyng that, I wil bringe hym bifore Mychael the prouost of heuene to whome I wyl presente hym as fast. And if thou canst ought alledgen that may ben ageynst hym, wherby thou woldest clayme hym for thy prysoner, come fast before the Juge, and he shal do the ryght: for I my self am no Juge for to doo Justyce, but only I am Wardeyn of this pilgrim for to gouerne hym, and kepen in to the ende of Jugement." Thenne said this Sathanas, "now certaynly," quod he, "thou dost me open wrong for to assygne me a Juge that is, and euer hath ben my capital enemy—Michael that drofe me out of heuene. And wel it semeth that thou purpoosist vtterly to byreue me my praye, with wrong, and

"They are wise to do evil, but to do good they have no knowledge."—JEREM. iv. 22.

* See Plate 11, Coloured drawing 3.

to mayntene hym in his errour, fith thou assignest a juge that is nought indifferent, but frend to your partye." "Of this," quod this Angel, "I doo the no wrong, for the Juge is of the souerayne Kyng assigned to that office, nought for this pilgrym only, but generally, for alle." "And though me ryght loth be," quod he, "thider wol I go; for my cause is good, and grete right haue I in myn askyng."

CAPITULO III^o.

How the sowle is led to Jugement betwene the Aungel and the fowle Sathanas.

SO was I thenne ledde bytwene them bothe, and faste I was lyft vp in to the eyer, the angel vpon my ryght syde, and the fowle wyght vppon the other syde. But to this gentyl angel ful ofte cast I myn eye for drede of that other whiche me lothed so moche, and was of hym hugely in doute. So thenne I byheld downward for to see the erthe, and sothely me femyd the see and the erthe al to geders no more but as it hadde ben a lytel Towne, or Castel. And yet femyd me moche more nerre than it was byfore. In this ayer sawe I many a merueylous, wonderful, and dyuerse. The erthe feemyd me al clere, and transparaunt, foo that I myght see clerely al that was withynne.

Thenne byhelde I the Centre, euen in the myddes, whiche was wonder derck in it self, and was aboute enuyronned by ordre of lesse derke mater and lesse, so that the ouermost of the erthe was moost clere, and alwey the clerenesse amenuffing downward by verray formal proceffe, anone to the Centre, that was veray derke, withoute ony parcel of clereness; nought for thy al was transparaunt, ryght as glas to the maner of my syght, whiche was that tyme al other than was my flesshely syght, whyle that I lyuede in erthe. And ryght as the fletyng ayer geuyth place to the flyght of byrdes, or as the flowyng water to swymmyng of fyshes, ryght so was al this erthe passyble to spirites.

And also thyck they passyd on euery syde to and fro, as motys fletyn in the sonne beme, as wel in the eyer aboue, as in the erth bynethe, wendyng alwey to and fro withoute ony cessyng. These spirites also in theym self were dyuerse and disparayble, bothe in theyr personnes, and also in theyr wonderful occupacyons, of whiche I had ful grete merueyl; for the syght of some thynges that I sawe gladyd moche my harte; and the syght of somme other thynges dyscomforyd me hugely, ne such thynges wold I nought haue trowyd, yf I had nought seen it my self. But this fayr yonglynge myn angel ne taryed nought at al, but hastely he hyed to brynge me to my Jugement, toward a ful merueylous place, whiche I byhelde a fer byfore me, bryght shynynge, enflammed with huge lyght. To this place he ledde me nought wythynne, but made me abyde without, where was an huge multytude gadred, and were abydyng for the same cause lyke as I was. This angel my wardēyn left me there withoute, and wente hym self withynne. This company that was withoute cryeden besily to saynt Mychael, eueryche for his party, with hye voys, and sayd, "Mychael, prouost, delyuer vs our praye, and our pryfoners." Myn enemy, this gryfely ghooft, also bygan to cryen, wherof I was ful gretely annoyed, and in ful hyghe discomfourt.

CAPITULO IV°.

How the sowle had a sodeyne syght of the heuenly ioie.

BUT than I loked after my wardeyn, to see what he wold done or fey for me, beholdyng inward, as far as I mygt. Thenne saw I many syeges ryal and wonderful, more clere than ony crystal polyfshed, and moche merueylous lyght I sawe of dissemblable maner; somme femyd grene and somme rede, somme lyke to gold, and somme to syluer, and other of mor ryche and noble colours than euer I sawe floure or ony precyous stone. Thenne saw I syttyng in the syeges huge plente of peple whiche I hadde no tyme dystynctley to byholden; but the wonderful clernesse of this company was so glorious, that al maner of examples of resemblance that mowe be remembryd in erthe, ne ben nomore suffysaunt to declare the beaute, than is a clote of black erthe for to representen the resemblance of ony fayre creature, in maner of a myrour. There was neuer creature that mygt see this syght that he ne shold fully be glorious, as me femyd, but it endured me but a moment; for smertely was my syght derkyd by ouer drawyng of a grete corteyne, bytwene my syght, and that, that I ne myght no more see clerely that I sawe byfore; but well I herde the voys of my wardeyn that was within, that bygan to speke for me, and seyde in this wyfe.

CAPITULO V°.

How the Angel presentyth the sowle to his Jugement.

MYCHAEL, prouost of paradise, that hast commysyon of our souerayne kyng to geue jugement, and do Justyce to al maner of peple, anon to the tyme of the grete affises, at which oure noble glorious kyng wyl descende presently in his owne persone, vouchesauf to geue audyence to that I haue to feye. I have brought with me fro erthe a pylgrym, whiche that is abydyng here withouten, and wyth hym the olde Sathanas, that putteth vppon hym many grete errours, by the whiche errours he claymyth hym for his prysonner; neuertheles, I holde nought that al be trewe that he seyth. Wherfor I pray you that ye wylle ben auysed, and geuen jugement in this mater, as therto bylongeth." Thenne Sathanas, that with me withouten was abydyng, heryng these wordes, byganne to crye, and sayde, "Certes," quod he, "of ryght he shold be myne, and that I shal proue bifore the; wherfore delyuer hym to me by jugement: for I byde nought elles."

CAPITULO VI°.

A Proclamacyon made clepyng sowles to Jugement.

THENNE herd I fowne a trompett, and after, anone that, herd I a voys that sayd, cryeng on hyghe, "Alle ye that here withouten abyde the youre Jugement, presentyth yourself byfore the prouost to receyue your dome; but fyrste,

Pylgremage of the Sowle.

ye that longest haueth abyden, specyally tho that hauen no grete matere, ne be not moche troubled ; for the clere and lyght causes shal first be determyned, and sythen other maters that neden gretter taryeng."

CAPITULO VII°.

How the fendes compleynen vpon the aungels, that letten theym of theyr cruel purpoos.

THENNE herd I of this companye abydyng so withoute forth, many one gretely dystourbled ; soo that I thought my self standyng al oute of fuerte, and clene withoute comfort. Also these Sathanas were gretely displeyd of theyr long abydyng, for wonder fayne they wold haue ben delyuered. My Sathan with these other made sygne and semblaunt of grete anger, and malice, and made among them self grete grutchyng and murmur, holdyng bitwene them a lothly parlement. And right thus they made theyr venemous compleynt, "We ben," quod they, "it semeth wel, of litel reputacyon. Our wikked neyghbours done vs grete dysefe, whiche ben these wardeyns of these wretched pilgryms. They haldin vs fro oure purpoos, soo that we ben alweye withouten ony fauour. There is none so caitif pilgrym that he ne hath assigned hym a wardeyne the houre of his byrthe, the whiche att al tymes after is continually abydyng with hym, to kepe hym, and defende fro our handes ; And specially fro the time that he is weishen in the salt lye, which is ordeyned and deuyfed by grace dieu, that euer hath ben our enemy. And also, this is to vs a grete despyte, that also, soone as these wardeyns comen, they ben taken in to presence of the Prouost, and haue audyence ryght at theyr owne wylle ; and we ben here, as Rybawdes, foreclosyd withouten. Lete vs cryen a rowe, and oute vpon them all ! for they done vs wrong. Crye we soo lowde, that maugre theym, they here our quarel and our grete compleynt."

CAPITULO VIII°.

How the fendys appelyn the prouost of fauore of partye.

NONE these lothely ghostes bygonne for to crye, and seyde al at ones, "Michael, prouost, lyeutenaunt and commysary of the hye Juge, doo vs ryght and reson without excepcyon or fauor of ony partye. Hit semyd vs grete vnryght that thou so soone admyttest these wardeyns, enclinyng to theyr party, and hereft them, rather than vs. This knowest thou full wel, that in euery ryghtwys court skyle is that the actour be admytted to maken hys compleynt, and purpoos his askyng ; but thou fyrst admyttest the partye defendaunt, to make his excusacyon. This maner of Jugement must nedes be suspect ; for, also were it that these pylgryms were clene, and innocent, yet wold ryght and reson that the accusours hadden fyrst place, and tyme of audyence, to seyne what they wold, and sythen after, lete the defendaunt excusen them yf they couthe. Syth it soo is thenne, that we ben here actours, let vs haue place to ben herd, and thenne oure aduersarys."

CAPITULO IX°.

How Mychael callyth Cherubyn to counseyl, and what counseyl he geueth.

HENNE herde I within the curteyne a longe parlament, and at the laste a voys that sayde thus, "Cherubyn, my dere broder, that hast plente of connyng, to whome is commytted the naked swerde, for to kepe the entre of paradys, that no pylgrym come there within that hath foruoyed fro the rygt wey—come, sythe here by me, as presydent, for to juge these pylgryms that haue longe abyden. Noo doute ye haue ful felle and malycious accusours, to whoos malyce it nedeth to take goode hede." Thenne sayd Cherubyn: "Syre prouost," quod he, "it semeth that it were skylful, and also necessary, that al these wardeyns wente to their pilgrims, for to kepe them redily fro malice of their enemyes." "Goth" feith, "eueriche to youre owne pilgrim; and in time conuenable ye shal be cleped in." Soo thenne euery wardein cometh to his pilgrim; and myn also cometh ful soone to me, wherof I was comforted nought a litel: for fikerly I had grete trust vpon hym.

CAPITULO X°.

How there were cleped assessours to Jugement special patrones of diuerse astaties.

IT semed me thenne that I herd Cherubyn begynne for to speke, and seid in this wise: "Sire prouost Mychael, sith it soo is that I am porter of paradys, I wille also that Peter, whiche is porter of heuen, and lyeutenant of the fouerayn lord in erthe, that he be here present; for he ought to haue knowledge of euery pylgryms persone. Of hym we maye enquiry, whiche haue come by hym, and yf there be ony that to hym hath nought dyskevered hym self by veray contrycyon, and worthy penaunce.

"And by this shal I clerely discerne in what wyse I shal vse my flammyng swerd; as for to defende fro the fendys malyce: soo that ryght wys cause may now passen in to heyuen, and the remenaunt, that other haue deseruyd, to forkerue them with my swerd, and dryue them doune to theyr rowes of endeles dampnacyon.

"For this enchefon is my swerd clepyd 'versatil,' that is to saye, 'tornyng,' for oftymes it torneth, varyeng his offyce after the dyuersite of them that maketh them pilgrymes, and after that they haue holden good weye or bad. Soo thenne, wyl I with good chere sytte with the in Jugement, vpon couenaunt that Peter be here present. Also, as I haue sayd byfore, hit is good also, to that ende, that al thyng may be clere, that Refon be cleped, soo that trouthe and he mowe sytten to geders, and also fethermore suche other that haue ben gouernours, and knowen al the custommes of dyuerse countrees, me semyth it wold profyten for to haue them present. Hit semeth me also, that sith there ben here many dyuerse pilgrymes deparayll of habyte, and of dyuerse estates, of dyuerse obseruaunce, of dyuerse Relygyons, of dyuerse names, and dyuerfely haue led their lyues in erthe; wherfore hit is good ryght that these wyse men—that somtyme weren fouerayns of suche maner synguler estates—that they be cleped to the presence of this Jugement—and specyally suche, to whome suche estates ben specyally bounden

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and auowyd; and also farthermore, al tho to the whiche the forsayd pilgryms haue had specyall deuocyon.

“As for the gentyls, lete clepe seynt George; for clerkys, seynt Nycolas; for hermytes, and solytary men, saint Anthony; and saint benet for Monkes—and so of al other by their propre names. For weddyd folk also, let clepe saynt Powle, the Appostel; not for hym self was maryed to ony woman, but for cause that he taught by wordes, and by epytles, to the peple of Corynthe, the veray forme and rewle to be kepte in maryage. For wydowes also, lete clepe seynt Anne; for maydens, and yonge wymmen, seynt katheryn shal be clepyd. Hit nedeth nought of this to hold longe parlement; thou wost wel thy self what best is to be done, namely, sythe the tyme neygheth of the grete assyse, where the souerayne lord shal geue fynal sentence, grete shame and repyef hit were that ony thyng done here bytwene vs, for defaute of due examynacion of the mater, shold be reheryd. For why? with hym to that Jugement shal comen al the worthy and wyfest of his royaume! And wel thou wost that thy self must be there presente, for to shewen al the processe of thy Jugement, approuyng al that thou hast done, lawfully, withoute ageyne seying wherefore. Nowe lete clepen in al that owen to apperen in this iugement.”

CAPITULO XI°.

Here is the court sette, and the Jugement bygonne.

THE VL hastily thenne ther sowned a Trompett, and after that was there made an open proclamacyon, and sayd in this maner: “Alle ye that ben acustomed to come to oure jugementes, to here and to see as assessor, that ryght be performed, cometh forth hastily, and taketh your seges, as ye wel knowe your owne assygned places. Ye also that be withoute abydyng the setting of this court, representeth yo self smartely to this iugement, by ordre, as ye shal be clepyd: soo that neuer one lette other, ne interrupte others mater. Ye pilgryms, approche ye to the entre of this curteyn, holding yo self without. And youre wardeyns, by cause that they be our felowes bylongyng to oure company, them selue shal appere, as worthy is, presently, within, to open audyence.” Soo thenne was it done smertely, as the crye commaundyd. My wardeyn hasted them inward, and put hym self byfore, and al other also dyde in the same wyse, comyng forth eueryche byforne his pilgrym, with pale vyfage, and the hede enclyned for heuynesse that they sawe theyr aduersaryes so redy to theyr accusacyon. But, of the remenaunt of this company I leue for to speke; holding forth my processe of myn own persone, as it is most accordyng to my purpoos.

CAPITULO XII°.

How the aungel wardeyn presentyth this sowle to the Juge.

AFTER grete processe fynyshed, and the ful decyfyon of many grete causes and quarels that were moued, when the tyme was come of my delyueraunce, my wardeyn bygan to speke, and sayd in this wyse: “Prouost Mychael,” quod he, “I here presente to you this pilgrym, whiche that somtyme was commytted to my

gouernaunce in the world binethe. Of this wyl I bere hym good record, that he hath clerely kepte hys byleue in to this last ende, ne neuer ne left he fro hym hys skryp, ne his burdon, as it bylongeth to a good pylgrym. And fythen he hath been perfeuerant in good purpoos, anone to the ende, after the promysse of oure blysfyl lord and Kyng, Jhesu, goddes son, he oweth to be sauf, and to be receyued in to the Souerayne cyte of heuenly Jerufalem, which he hath long tyme asozt, trauaylyng hys bodye therfore."

CAPITULO XIII°.

How the cursed Sathanas accusith the fely sowle.

BUT thenne began to crye my wikked aduersarye and said in this wyse: "Mychael, entende to me ward; for I shal telle the al another tale. The sothe it is, that it ne auaieth nought only to passe the water, ne to be weschyn ther ynne, withouten that he kept hym seluen afterward in clenness and honeste. Wel I wote, I withsaye it nought, this pilgrym passid the water, and was therynne washen and fully clenfyd of al his rather fylthe, but also, soone as he had knowyng of good and euyl, he set but litel by that weschyng, but caste hym self as a swyn in fylthe, ne he hath not allowid this weschyng; for, yf he had, he wold not therafter eftfene wilfully haue defiled him self. Wherfor I saye that thilk labour ne weschyng auaieth hym nought at al. And that I preue by this skile. He was weschyn vnwiting and nought willyng hym self, in so tendre age, that he mygt not, ne couth, discerne to chofen good, ne euyl. And sithen that he come to yeres of discrecyon, this laboure he hath in dede disallowid. Wherfor, of right he shal lacke the profite, and the liberte whiche he shold haue had by this forsaide weschinge. That he hath this lauure disallowid, I preue by the contrarye; for euery wigt loueth, and maynteneth the thyng that he alowith; but the clenness that he shold haue kept after his lauure, he hath nought loued, ne maintained, but more ouer defiled and despised. Eke thenne hit sheweth that he hath this lauure desallowid. And vpon this consequently wil I preue that it maye hym stande nought in profite ne at none auaille. There is no man that shal be pryueleged by lawe other ony lyberte vsen, or reioyce ageyne his owne consent and his free wyl: but this pilgrym, in as moche as he had desallowyd this lauure, consentyd nought therto; wherfor he may nought be partyner of the pryuelege, ne bere the profyte of the liberte that therto bylongeth. Nought for thy though it so be, that, by the pryuate Jugementes of grace dieu, by this forsaide lauure the fowle spot of synne orygenal was vtterly auoydyd, I will nought withsaye it. But this I saye playnly: that he is moche more spottyd with tochyng of dedely synne, that fowler is than the fyrst orygenal; of whiche, though that I my self wold bere hym wrong on hand, loo! it is wrytten in myddes of his vyfage—rede it who that wyll. There may ye see the shame, and confusyon whiche that he wylfully hath lappyd hym seluen ynne! By that I aske jugement, that he be delyuered me, as to his desertyng of good ryght bylongeth. Furthermore, yet ouer this wil I preue by refon, that standyng this filthe and dishoneste of synne with whiche he is entachyd, this lauure rather causeth hym to be juged to oure company, than though so had be he no thyng had be weschyn. The more gestes, the more grace: the gretter wages, the

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hyer estate: the more noble and worthy offyce that a man receyueh of his lord and his kyng, the more he offendeth, and the more payne he is worthy, yf so be that he be fals and traytour to his lord; where that another comyner, that nought hath recyued at al, is ferre lesse worthy to be punysshed yf he be founden gylty.* Yf so is thenne, that an hethen man, that hath nought receyued this lauure, belongeth to our company, by cause that he hath it nought—much more thenne, wold it semen skyle, that he be one of ourys, that after he hath nought receyued nought only that lauure, but also many other gestes and benefaytes, by the hand of grace de dieu, whiche he hath dishonestly defiled, and despyed, adrenchyng hym self, as it were, in worldly vanyte, and gone a wey al contrary to that grace dieu hath taught hym, and enformed; ne neuer dyde ne honour, ne reuerence, to these that hath alwey be his helper and defendour, whiche now clepith hym 'good pylgrym,' when he hath but lytel cause. For alwey hath he to his lorde ben fals and vntrewe, takyng his name in veyn, clepyng hym self a Cristen man, and auantyng that he was of Cristes court, kepyng nought his lawes, ne doying the dedes that shold be to his plefaunce; but euer continuely, day by day, broken his commaundementys. Suche one is this forfetour, and alwey hath ben, deformyng in hym self the prent and the fygure that god hath set in hym, to hys owne refemblaunce and lykenes, withouten ony mayme, or fylthe, conformyng hym self wylfully, and counterfetyng in hym self the facyon of my fowle fygure. Who is it that may, or ought dar excusen hym? I aske none other wytnesse with me, but he that hath alwey ben next of his counceyl—his owne consyence! That dar nought, ne wil nought lyen in this mater. Vpon hym take I record, that fro the tyme that he was first markyd with the name of the souerayne kyng, Jhesu, he ne cessid neuer to offend yn hym, setting ful lytel by his name. And as he more encrecyd in knowyng, he appeyred in worchyng. Euerydele in veyne he bere scrip and burdon, for he ne toke neuer redy weye of vertu, but bypathes of synne and al vnthryftynes. He hath iourneyed by the perylous pas of pryde, by the malycious† montayne of wrethe, and ennuye; he hath walked hym self, and wesshen in the lothely lake of curfyd luxury, he hath ben encombred in the golf of glotony. Also, he hath mys-gouerned hym in the contre of couetyse, and often tyme taken his rest whan tyme was best to trauayle, slepyng and slomeryng in the bed of slouth; and moche worfe he hath done than euer dyd I, many a fowle forfete, whiche I myght nought performe in myn owne nature. Wherfor he hath deserued punysshement more than haue I, ouer at the lest to ben punysshed euen with me ylike, for to me is he ylike, and myn is he by ryght. In heuene aboue hath he nought to doo. Doo fast, therfore, that he were delyuered to me, that I may gone hennes to my marches."

* See "The Pylgrymage of Man," Appendix, ff. vii—x.

† See "The Pylgrymage of Man," Appendix, ff. xxx—xl. London: Basil M. Pickering, 1858.

Pylgremage of the Sowle.

II

CAPITULO XIII^o.

How the soule was ledon to answer to this accusement.



GLORIOUS god, Jhesu, so grete drede thenne and heuynesse had thorough percyd my herte, soo that I ne wyft what to do, ne saye. But when I sawe myn wardeyn holde hym self stille, me dredde moche more. He sayde to me thenne, that I shold for my self answer to these artycles of myn accusement.

And yf I couthe, or myght, defende my cause ; for to me properly it was apperty-
nent :—other elles, yf I couthe nought, ne durste nought, in myne owne persone, I
shold clepe me somme aduocate, that for me myght speke in the court. And when I
herd hym speken of an aduocate, I gan to bythenke to me yf euer I had seruyd any seynt
whiche at this dystresse wold take my cause on honde ; for wel I wist that aduocates be
not so nyce for to pleden any mannys cause withouten that it be deferuyd, other elles
that they stonde in hope to be rewardyd after. But as for so poure a man as I, there
wold none aduocate pleden without wages paid byfore in honde ; for pledours in worldly
courtes hauen tonges lyke to the languet of the balaunce that draweth hym alwey to the
more peysaunt party, that better wyl rewarden. But neuertheles the aduocates of
heuene, when I had al affayd I fond al of another condycyon ; for surely I fond them
for the porest most redy for to speke. But thenne, I bethought me that no thyng had I
to geuen myne aduocate, ne I ne had in my lyf no seynt seruid in specyal, to whome by
counseyl of Job I myght torne my self to prayen to take my quarel on hond, after these
wordes—*Ad aliquem sanctorum conuertere*. Thenne, of heuynesse that tho distressyd
me, I made this compleynt.

“ To which of
the saints wilt
thou turn ? ”
JOB v. i.

CAPITULO XV^o.

The pyteous compleynt of the sowle.



BLYSSFUL lord on hye, what shall I doo ?
Or in what place may I my selue hyde ?
Refute ne wote I none to drawe vnto,
No doute I mote my iugement abyde.
My foo is alwey redy by my syde,
Me shappyng to appele and accuse ;
I ne can no word my selue to excuse !

I am arryued to a perylous port,
Ne wote I nought to whome I maye retourne.
I am arest ; now can I no comfort ;
Maugre my self ryght here I mote soiourne.
Wherefor now I may sorowfully morne,
For in my scryp now find I no vytayle,
Ne my burdon ne doth me none auayle.

Burdon ne scrip may I no lenger bere !
 Myn enemy so fore assettyth me,
 I hold it best, to cast away this gere,
 And shape my selue pryuely to fle.
 O blysfyl lord ! y wys it wol nought be ;
 And wel thou wost who that me hath abused,
 Myn enemy, that hath me now accused.

Wherfor, now I brought to Jugement—
 Syth I am falle in meschyef, and pouerte—
 Ne I ne may to myn accusement
 Ne can nought fey, but after my desert
 And my trespaa, that knowen is apert ;
 Yf that I shal my reward vnderfonge,
 Alas ! why haue I synful be so longe ?

But best it is, yf reson faye me trouthe,
 That of somme help I make purueaunce.
 Parde, some wyght wyl haue vpon me routhe :
 Assay I shal ; but, for my sustenaunce,
 My burdon must I bere, for suffysaunce.
 Of myght withouten it ne haue I none,
 I bere it nought—it beryth my persone.

Allas ! but I haue none experyence
 Of wysedom, how my selue to demene.
 To excuse me haue I none audyence,
 And al my wyt auayleth nought a bene.
 Thus is my hope al discomfortyd clene.
 I ne can nought done, but cryen, and weyne
 That charyte nought reckyth of my peyne !

Why sayth seynt powle that other gestes alle
 Shal faylen here, only but charyte
 Abydyng is—for she ne may nought falle ?
 Where this be soth—but nay as semyth me—
 He wold thenne myn aduocate be,
 And somewhat sey to helpe in my cause ;
 For I can speke neyther word ne claufe.

I am adredde lest charyte be dede,
 And fleyn in erthe of wycked folkes there
 Withouten heyer, or yssue of hir seed,
 Left hyr only. Loo ! this is al my fere.

And, yf I wyft that the alyue were,
I wold nought spare to calle, ne crye,
If I her myght in ony place aspye.

O charyte ! fo good, and gracyous
Thou haft ben euer to tho that haue nede
I, that am in this brecke perylous,
That in my fckryp my felue for to fede
Haue I no brede, now of thy almys dede
Somwhat thou help myn hongre to abate,
Hanyng reward vnto my poure eftate.

I mene thus :—yf ony party of grace
Referuyd be in trefour ony where,
That thou for me perueye and purchase
Woldest vouchesauf. Grete wonder but ther were
Ynow for me. Nought elles I requere.
Doo fom what, thenne, after thy properte,
And shewe why thou art clepyd, “charyte.”

But now, alas ! ful wel I me record,
Whyle I had myght, and fpace of tyme ynowe,
Of this mater ne touchyd I no word,
Ne to no feynt I my felue drowe,
That in my nede for me may speken nowe,
As for no feruyfe that I haue hym doo.
But I not to whome to make my mone to.

If I to ony faynt in fpecyal
Had ony thyng enforcyd myn entent,
With ony feruyfe, other grete, or fmall,
It wold me haue auayled in prefent.
But thus haue I be flowe, and neclygent,
That I no frend haue made, ne feynt yplefyd ;
Wherfor, as now, ful moche I am dyfefyd.

To theym I am a ftraungeour, and vnknowe ;
I not to whome I fhall my feluen drefse !
To afke help, as I fuppoſe, and trowe,
There is none that wyl doo that befyneffe.
And nought for thy, this I byhote exprefse,
Vnto theym I wyl compleyne, and crye,
And make my caufe knowen openly.

Pylgremage of the Sowle.

To the, Jhesu, the sone of god aboue,
 That were of Mary veray mayd bore,
 In veray fleshe and bloode, for mans loue—
 To the wyl I appelen now byfore !
 Syth thou art veray man, and ferthermore
 Oure broder, and a parte of oure kynde ;
 Good ryght it is that we thy fauour fynde.

This dar I sey, syth that thou wylfully
 Were done to deth, only for mans sake,
 And of thy selue was none encheson why.
 This wote I wel, thou wylt nought forsake
 That to thy grace wyl al hym self bytake,
 And aske it ; as, often haue I lernyd,
 Was neuer done yet, to whom it was biuernyd.

This wote I wel, I haue ful soore offendyd
 The mageste—wherof I me repente !
 Ful late it was or I my lyf amendyd,
 But yet ne come it neuer in myn entent
 To defalowe thy gouernement.
 That lord, and kyng, I haue the clepyd euer ;
 Thy lawes also ne forfoke I neuer !

My skryp of feyth ne haue I nought forlete,
 But hole ryght as it was bytaken me
 I haue it kepte, but that no thynges grete,
 This wote I wel. Susteyned I for the,
 Ne done, that I was bounden, of dewte.
 Yet, wote I wel, so grete is nought my synne,
 As grace, and mercy, is the, Jhesu, withynne !

Alweyes, yet nought euery dele that grace
 Dyspendyd is, that tho in thy persone
 Was plentyuous, when that so pale a face
 For me thou penge vpon the crosse alone.
 But, for we beggyng wretches, euerychone
 Ben procuryng alwey for our purueaunce,
 Thy grace thou woldest hyde now perchaunce !

Yet may we by the percyd hooles wel,
 And by tho eke that large ben, and wyde,
 Byholde and see, that certeyne euery dele
 Not splendid is, though that thou woldest it hide.

For though there ranne a Ryuer fro thy syde
That all the Worlde hath fully ouerflow,
Thy grace is hoole—as euery man may knowe !

Syth yet thy grace is nought dispendyd al,
Whiche that thou hast me shewyd in to present,
I come, and with the argue thus I shal ;
Syth it alwey hath ben affluent,
Decrecyng nought, ne none appeyrement
Byfallyth it, though neuer so largely
Thou geue it, where the lyft, habundantly,

Thou owest to defende me this day,
Kepying my cause, that stondyth al in doute,
Ageyne my foo, whiche al, that euer he may,
Thy grace me to byreuen is aboute,
And me for to passen al withoute.
Ful ofte he hath me greuyd here byfor,
And hopeth now, that al I haue forlor !

Though that my speche be sowyng to folye,
Yet, blysfyl lord ! displese it nought the,
That I haue spoken of aduocacye,
Soo that thou sholdest myn aduocate be,
That art the Soueragne Juge of equitye ;
And nought for thy, to them that on the tryft
Theyr aduocate art, whan that the lyft.

For sothe it is, where synne and wretchednesse
Haboundeth most, there nedyth moost of grace :
To tho that asken the forguenesse
Hit sytteth the nought to wyre away thy face,
Thy charyte wyl clayme there his place ;
But this were soth grete peryl, most redounde,
Al mortal folk with meschyef to confounde.

* * * *

Mychael prouofte, on the take I record
Thy selue dydest this execucion,
Though I my self wold lye ony word,
Yet am I nought of this oppynyon,
To keuere, so, by excusacyon
Of his infame, the malyce of my synne ;
This were a foolyshe purpoos to bygynne !

Pylgremage of the Sowle.

But this put I in thy discrecyon :—
 That suche a fals deformed one as he
 I may refuse by excepcyon,
 That his quarel shal nought receyued be.
 Here, in this courte, ne to accuse me
 He shold nought ben admytted, as by ryght ;
 But put away that fowle fals wyght !

For why ? fyr prouost, Mychael gracyous,
 And al the Angels of thy company
 That hym infamed haueth fore juged thus,
 And fals conuycte clere and openly,
 And cast hym in to peyn eternally
 In helle fyr to be withouten ende,
 With tho that soo deformed ben in kynde.

Ful humbly attones I reclame
 You al to do your deuoyr in this caas.
 This curfyd ghooft, whome malyce doth inflame,
 Here in this courte his malyce haue no place.
 This aske I yow of ryght and eke of grace,
 That ye his crye and al his boost abate,
 That neuer he noye hereafter none estate.

Seynt mychael, yf thou rekyft nought al,
 Ne nought rewardyft now myn heuvynesse,
 Al maner hope away is fro me falle
 So am I thenne encombred with dystresse ;
 For Danyel the prophete seyth expresse,
 That in meschyef and suche aduersyte
 He fonde none other helpe but only the !

Wherfore, yf I haue displeyd ought
 Soo that of me thou takest now none heede
 After this houre I mote with al my thought
 The doo plesaunce the better that I spede.
 For who that wol ben holpen at his nede
 Ful syker mote *placebo* goo byfore,
 As dothe the crosse in lytel chydres lore*

* * * *

* The parts omitted are adoration of the Virgin Mary and saints.



HAUE nought whome myself to torne vnto
In specyal to speke, or compleyne,
That may me only help or socour doo
My symple cause to forther or sustene
That me so sore doth arten and constreyne.
The hole court of sayntes I appele
Bytakyng yow my quarel euery dele

Ye knowe wel ynowe what is my nede,
Ageyn the malyce of myn enemy,
That is aboute to noye and myslede
Me nedy wretche, helpeth me for thy !
Geueth audyence vnto my pyteous crye !
And to my kyng now reconcyleth me,
Shewyng the feruor of your charyte !

* * * *

Seynt Paule hym selue wryteth in this wyse,
And seyth that veray parfyte charyte,
A thyng that may to moche folk suffyse—
She haboundonned nought in properte ;
Sith it bylongeth than in comynalte
Among the nedy for to be dispendyd,
Late myn estate with somewhat be amendyd !

CAPITULO XVI^o.

How that Justyce speketh ageyne the sely sowle.

WHAT tyme that I had made this pyteous crye not fully yet parfoured the mater of my hye compleynt, there roose vp soone a lady and enterrupte me of my wordes, and sayde to Saynt Mychael in this wyse : “ Syr Juge, It is knowen thyng to you and to al this court that repentaunce ne prayer may here no place haue, ne none aduocate maye be receyued to plede, but only tho that were in erthe bynethe, by seruyse or by pension withholden for euer, ne here ne may ther none be procured of newe ; but, it semeth, that this present pylgrym that I here speke, ageyne the lawe and customme of this court wolde enforce hym selue with this pyteous crye to excyte and ftere al this courte to fauore of his persone. To whiche thyng I ne maye nought consente : namely, sith hit foo is that in tyme of his rather lyf, he had space, and suffysaunt leyser ynow, for to haue made prayers, and pyteous lamentacyons, and for to haue enstablyshed procuratours, that now myght in this present court haue promotyd his mater. But now is hit to late to make such purueance. And fykerly, though that I wold, and perauenture somme other,—dame verite, which that I loue, and is myn own suster, may not therto acorde, ne consente. And yf I shold suffre suche fauore in my presence,

Pylgremage of the Sowle.

fothly hit were vnto my self a greuous preiudyce whiche that owe for to dresfen the balaunce in whiche al merytes owen to be peyfed, and after that to yelde euery wyzt his meryte by rygour of veray rigt witnesse of good, other euyl, ryght euen as he in dedely lyf deferuyd. Wherfore, in this tyme, ne in this place, no suche maner of compleyntes, ne pledyng for parte, oweth not to be herde : but, only yf it so is that ony merytes and good dedes he hath enstoryd hym with, lete hym put it in the ryzt bacyn of the balaunce.* And, in that other fyde, his accusour, what that he hath of euyl, in contrary, he shal also putte it to ben peyfed on that other partye of the balaunce.

CAPITULO XVIIº.

The Juge byddeth the soul plede for hym seluen : And how the sowle maketh excepcon to excluden Sathanas froo his accyon.

NONE ryght here with after the sownyng of a trompet, I herd a voys that sayd in this wyse : “ The maner and the vſage of this present court wyl that the pylgrym geue anſwere for hym selue perſonelly, and pleyntly yelde accountes how he hath done his iourney, and other plee ne proceſſe oweth none to be herd ne admytted in this place.” But when I herd theſe wordys, whiche, as me ſemyd wel, the Juge hym ſelue ſpack, hit lacketh but lytel that I ne had lete falle my burdon of hope and vtterly fallen in deſpayr ; ſpecyally ſyth my cauſe in hit ſelf was nought defenſable by ought that I couthe ſe. And nought for that, auayle what it myght, I thought that I wolde defende my cauſe in my beſt wyſe. Tho ſayd I to the Juge :

“ Ful gracious and noble Juge, prouoſt of heuene, hit ſemyd me, ſauyng youre iugement, that me oweth nought to anſwere to the accyon of theſe Sathanas, infamed and condempned, and by youre owne execucyon chacyd oute of heuene. And namely, alſo, ſythe that he hath ben alwey my perſonell enemy, and greuouſly purſued in al that he couthe or myght ley for me in a wayte, and forſtallyd in weyes, teldyng nettes, arrayng trappes and other engynes, for to take me and deceyue with : and alſo, I may alledge that he nys none acceptable perſone that may to this court oblyge hym ſelf, ne ley caucon to purſue forth his accyon, as he that is eternally condempned, by whiche caucon he myght bynd hym ſelf for to anſuere me yf that his accyon in dome be deſalowyd. And furthermore, alſo hit is no thyng vnknownen he is in hym ſelf and euer hath ben found an open lyer, and autour of al falſhede and vntrouthe, euermore redy to do and ſay the werſt.”

CAPITULO XVIIIº.

How Sathanas pledyth ageyne, and clepyth Syndereſys to wytnesſe.

HENNE bygan to crye this curſyd Sathanas : “ thou ſhalt nought,” quod he, “ with ſuch delayes and excepcons eſcape ſo lyghtely as thou wenyſt. The ryght of heuen is not of ſuche maner cuſtomme as is the ryght of this mortal

* Cf. *poſt*, C. xxxvii.

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Et de claire finberesie estre les perbis de
 l'orne et sathan escripte de mot a mot.



Et parle saint michel au pelerin

erth. I haue sefyn of accusfement in as moche as my clamour is acceptyd in the Court, when that I was affigned by the Juge to purpose my mater, standyng here withoute, than myght thou not sey ne excepte ageynst me that I ne shal be herd of my compleynt. And namely fyth wytnes opon trouthe that ther within is present, veray sothe it is that al that I haue sayd. And all were it so, that of ryght, other eles by thyn excepcyon, myn accyon were auoydyd, that I personelly shold not be herde in thys present Court for myn vnsuffysaunce, here shal as fast come another whiche thou ne myzt by no wey excepte, ne withseyne. Thou shalt nought be so bold, for he loueth nought to lye; hit is not of his custome. he wyl accuse the of moche more than I can telle or seye, for he knoweth thy Innermost of thy thoughtes, and soo doo nouzt I, saue only by sygnes of thy werkes and of thy wordes withoute forth. And that me fore forthynketh. Come forth, thou foule Synderesys, and say what thou knowest of this fals pilgrym, for wel I wote thou hast not lernyd for to lye ne failen of the trouthe."

CAPITULO XIX°.

* *How that Synderesys, which is clepyd here the worm of consyence, accuseth the sowle.*

HENNE come forth by me an old one, that long tyme had hyd hym self neyhe me, whiche byfore that tyme I had not apperceyued. He was wonder hydous for to loke vpon, And of ful cruel semblaunt, and fast he gan to grenne and shewid me hys iowes and his gommes, for teethe had he none, but they were al forbroke, forweryd, and forfaren. And whan I had aspyed hym, I was ful soore abaschyd. He was wonder lothely and fowle to loke vpon, for he had vpon hym self no fleshe at al, ne no body had he vnder this hede, but only a tayl whiche semyd the taylor of a worme, and was despytously of lengthe and greatnesse. To me this lothely beeste ganne for to speke, and sayd in this wise: "I am come," quod he, "for to accuse the whiche am not accustomed for to make fables, ne telle no gabbynges, but in al places I am byleuyd of trouthe. I knowe wel apertely al thy thoughtys, thy dedes, and thy wordes, fro the fyrst tyme that euer thou haddest discrecyon, and veray vnderstandyng. Thou myght ayenst me make none excepcyon, ne ageynseyne me of no word, that am sure ynowe. I am soo renommed that I shal be byleued better than thy self, here, in this court. And ful pryue haue I ben at al tymes with the, ful oftymes haue I warned the of thy mys gouernaunce as thylk that loueth the, awaytyng thy profyte, and procuryng thyn hele. I haue ful oftymes for thy mysdedys and mys gouernaunce of wordes, and of thoughtes, vndertake the, and ful fore byten the, so ferforth, that al my teethe ben wasted and forbroken; so hard and obstynate hath ben thy wykked herte, that for no fore bytyng that I couthe set vpon the, ne myght I not ayene torne the of thyn vnthryftyfnesse. Soo is it ryght that I playne vpon the, and than thou bere thy peyne as thou hast ryghtwysly deseruyd. Bethynke the now! Whan I saw the in a tyme goo to a certeyne place, for to see and byhold a merueylous beest, and yafe thy money only

* See note A.

Pylgremage of the Sowle.

for that fyght, that tyme spak I to the, yf thou now record, and yafe the fuche counseyll, and sayde, 'yf that auysed,' quod I, 'as thou by reson owest, thou sholdest goo noo fer for to byholde a wonderful beest, but to thyne owne persone, and there myght thou see a foul myfshapen monstre of thyne owne sowle, more merueylous than that other.' And forther, I said the, yf that thou haddest be subtile and wise, thou sholdest haue hyed the to the preeft and shewyd hym that hydous beeste of thyne owne sowle, whiche thou hast so longe tyme kept in pryuete, that soo foule is blemyfshed and deformed with thy synnes, to that ende, that thy preeft for that fyght shold haue yeuen the ful absolucyon, that ful gladly wyl yeue fuche reward to tho that wylfully haboundoune theymfelue to shewe hym fuche a desguyse and horryble vyfage."

CAPITULO XX°.

How that the Sowle answeryth to Synderesys, And he to the Soule ageyne.

WHAT arte thou," quod I, "that thus spekyft to me?" * "Yf thou haue mynde," he sayd, "of the lady that made the the sermon, whiche that bare the yerd, the beeme, and the maylet, she made of me remembraunce; for she told that there was a worm bred and noryshed within thyn herte whiche that must be broken with labour of sore contrycyon by offyce of this maylet. And thenne she clepyd me the worm of consyence, for wel she knewe and wyft that alwey lyke a worm I am woned to byte and to rounge them that wronge theym selue, whiche that lyfteth not to set honde, ne for to touche my venemous tayle, ne for to bryfe ne beten it with this forfayd malet. My self, I am that same tayle and worm whiche thou hast nought smyten, ne bruyed as thou sholdest; but hast cowardly to thy grete defauntage cheryfshyd it, and sparyd soo that it is woxen now wonder grete, bytterly pryckyng. That shalt thou know hereafter, for fykerly thou hast made thy consyence soo large that nedes must this worm wexen thereafter; and yf that thy consyence had ben more streyte, this tayl ne shold so be ouer woxen: for, in a place streyte of nature, may no thyng ouerpasse mesure in wexyng."

"Thou seyft," quod I, "that thou art a worme, and so thou femyft wel! I wyl ayene the haue skilful excepcyon, soo that in myne accusament thou owest nought be admytted; for thou that art of so foule a nature, ne myght not ben acceptyd to accuse me, that am the ymage and the lykenesse of the souerayne lord. And sothly litel set this lord by this ymage, yf he suffred fuche a deformed worm bringe hym in to Jugement, and for to haue audyence in his accion ayenst him!"

Thenne answered this tailed worm: "Yf so that thou haddest kept and gouerned that ymage and noble refemblaunce whiche thou receyuedest of the souerayne lord, other, whan it was blemyfshed by synne, haddest by penaunce hastily reformed it, thenne myghtest thou ayenst me haue had a good excepcyon for vnuffysaunt and vnworthy to haue accused the, ne I myself, ne none other shold, ne myght haue had

* See "Le Pèlerinage de l'Homme," Appendix, p. xvi. London: B. M. Pickering, 1858.

ony cause or quarel ageynst the. But thou art al deformed and defygured by many foule synnes and forfetyng, by ful wyched werkes, vnthryty and euyl wordys, fowle, horryble, and shameful thoughtes of thy wyched herte, whiche thou ne hast not al dyskeuered, ne shewid in confession, as thou sholdest. And soo by thy fowle, corrupt lustes and desyrous, whiche ben to me ful clerly discouered, I see the fynally that thou ne myght not ayenseye me, ne shalt not be so hardy ne so bold to make none excepcyon; for I shal proue openly, in presence of this court, that thou art moche more horryble and fowler than am I: for in me is ther no maner of euyl, but that thy self hast causyd; yf that I am foule, that thou hast made thy self, that by thyne owne wretchyd mysdedes soo oftymes hast troubled me, and defesyde, and brought in grete heuynesse and payne an honderd tyme and ofter in the wyke; for me ne woldest thou neuer byleue, nouzt withstandynge that I haue put al my power, and my tyme dyspendyd in the that canst me no thanke; so that I may wel, and haue skylful cause to accuse the; and thou no place ne lyberte shalt haue, to make ayenst me none excepcyon at alle."

CAPITULO XXI°.

How Sathanas wryteth the accusement by tellyng of Synderesys, and how the sowle anfweryth thereto.

HENNE was it cryed as faste in the courte and sayd in this wyse: "This court wylle, as is the olde vsage, who that wyl mayntene therein ony just quarel he ne shal not be refusyde by no maner of excepcyon, excepte that lesyng shal here haue nought to do." Thenne byganne to crye this curfyde Sathanas, and sayde, "thenne am I nought forclosyd oute of this court but that I may frely accuse and fey myn auys. But for cause that I ne knowe not soo moche as doth this subtyl Synderesys, I leue to hym al myn accyon; and I my self wyl only be wryter and tabellyon of al that he wyl fey, and in this present court wyl openly purposen." Tho this forsayd Sathanas satt for to wryte.

And Synderesys byganne for to telle, and sayde to the Juge: "Syth tyme that I took first rewarde, or entent to pilgryms iourneys, I ne sawe ne knewe none that more vnthristyly hath hym self gouerned than hath this same pilgrym that present is byfore yow. For suche day and tyme he dyde thus and thus." And soo he rehercyd in specyal al that I hadde done fro my youthe, that was not purged with penaunce. "And wyteth wel of certeyne," quod he, "that I neuer dyd ne thought, pryue, ne aperte, ne seyde no thyng that shold be to his harme, or ony dysfauantage." This, shortely for to fey, he told forth his tale. Sathan sat wrytyng contynuelly, whiche tale were ouerlong to be rehercyd here, to grete shame and confusyon of my persone. And euermore also, fast as this worm told, as fast wrote alwey this curfyde Sathanas in a grete paper. Ful moche myslyked me the wordes, and the wrytyng also me plesyd nought: ful grete necessitye that tyme hadde I of an aduocate for to haue spoken for me, for I ne durste, ne couthe no thyng seye at al, for the grete shame that I hadde. Alweyes I was boden by the Juge hym self that

"Every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually."

GENESIS vi. 5.

I shold haue answerd, and defended my cause, yf any right were where by to defend it. But I ne couthe, ne myght than seye none other, but that, as I supposyd, sothe it was wherof I was accused. Neuertheles I was auysed of somewhat that I hadde for to seye, and hym besought of audyence. "Syr Juge," quod I, "voucheauf to haue reward vnto my symplenesse, with pyte to ward my persone in determynynge my cause by youre Jugement, conciderynge al be hit soo that I haue mysdone, I haue att al tymes borne scrip and burdon, that is sad feyth, and hope; ne I ne caste neuer yet my scrip fro my shulder, that that was bitaken me, what tyme that I firste bygan my pylgremage, ne I ne dyde neuer thyng in contempt of my creatour; but al that I haue forfetyd, and mysdone, was by inclynacion of naturel frealte that soo deceyued; for, as the scripture seyth of goddes owne sentence in the book of Genises, 'The wytte and the thoughte of man is alwey enclyned to synne, and to corrupcion.' And though it soo be that this excufacion hath none suffysance, I adde this therto, that this writer is none acceptable tabellyon in special ayenst my persone. For he is the same whiche sithe I had first knowynge of good and euyl, hath be to me so importune, and seten me so nye, that I ne myght neuer haue good leyser ne veray free choys to the better parte. But with soo many subtyl deceytes he bilapped the euyl in semblaunce of good, and somtyme couered the good vnder colour of euyl, that I ne couthe nought clerely wyte to whiche I shold set to my hand. And so, ful oftentymes ther I nought purposid, ne thought vpon euyl at the begynnyng, I was caught therinne, er that I myght haue leyser to bysene my self.

"Also ferthermore, what tyme that I had purposid to amende me by penaunce, anone he put slouthe byfore me, whiche that so lette me that I ne myght nought performe my purpoos ne confesse me, whyle it was in my mynde. And alwey when I was moved with any good entent, anone he hath putte another in my herte, and occupied soo my wyttes with other thynges for to enpechen this wel bygune purpoos, and suffred me nought in noo weye for to sette hand vpon the maylett of contricion, wherwith I sholde haue broken and forbrused these that thus accuse me now, wherof ful fore me a thynketh, and not without cause. Nought for thy as now it wol not be amendyd.

"And also, syr Juge, the wykked world bynethen hath alweyes ben my greuous enemy, for he hath me shewed his rycheffe, and his vanytees, hys honours, and wretchydnesse, and made my fleshe that now lyeth and roteth, to delyte therynne, soo that by my folye, that one of vs, that is to saye the fleshe and the sowle, hath eueryche deceyued other. Whyle we were to gyders this fals worlde behyghte vs moche thyng whiche that he ne wold nought yeue. And yf it so were that he had any tyme perfourmed his promysse, no doute ful soone after ageyne he withelde it; and sothely, of suche nature is he, that ther nys no wyght may demene a sure ne clene lyf, excepte fouerayne grace that moche hath to medle therwith. Soo thenne, yf that any excufacyon myght here auayle, in as moche as al that I haue y done amys, is nought only of my self, but by mouynge and instaunce of other, I wold gladly, Syr Juge, that it were acceptyd."

CAPITULO XXII.

Here Justyce pledyth ageyne the sowle.

BUT thenne with an hye voys herd I one speke to my ful grete empeishement, one that hade spoken byfore. Justyce it was. I vnderstood it wel. "Syr prouost," quod she, "ye haue here herde and vnderstande that he hath confessyd, here, openly, in presence of this Court, al that Sathan and Synderesys haue putte vpon hym, ne he can in no wyse denyen hit; but now it is come to excusacyon, it auayleth nought: witnesse vpon reson and trouthe, whiche be two worthy ladyes affessours in this Jugement, and knoweth wel al the old vsages and custommes of this present Court. Wherfor I shal seye, as touchyng this mater, vnder theyr correctyon, somewhat of myn aduys; and yf ought be mysseyd, I wyll that by them it be redressyd, and amendyd. I seye at the begynnyng that this pylgrym oweth nought to be herd of his excusacyon. For why? he knew the lawes in what wise he shold haue gouerned him self at al tymes, and by what weyes sholde passe al good pilgryms to that soueraigne cyte. He allegeth for his excusacyon, that his owne fleshe hath deceyued hym, and meued hym to euyl; but this accusacyon auayleth nought at al! For why? this myght he ful wel haue amended, yf he had wel gouerned hym selue after the lawe that was bytake hym, whiche was clerely shewyd and taught hym in the ten commandementes, and also in the counseyles conteyned in the gospels of Criste, whiche ben in a maner renouellynges of the forsayd pertes; of whiche ther nys no mortal wyght that may ben excused. On that other syde, he hath redde and knowen, bothe wordes and werkes of the rather seyntes, and in what wyse they kept goddes lawe; for kepyng of whiche lawe they putte theyr bodyes in ful many greuous distressys; wherfor some of them haue ben slayn, and martyred in many dyuerse wyse, whoos peynes and anguyshes no tong suffyseth to seye, ne ere for to here, and ony herte may skylfully agryse for to thynke. Some other haue loken them self within lytel place as recluses and anachorites; some exyled them self in wylde heremytages; some closyd and bounden them self in dyuerse Relygons, and taken vpon them soore affliccyons, and rygour of penaunce, that by reson who that hereth it, shal ful lytel sette by hym selue. He hath also herd and red theyr lores, and their wrytynges, in what wyse a man oweth to subdue the body to the soule, and how al that they wryte and seyde, they perfourmed veryly in theyr owne perfonas. In this wyse, yf he wold, he myght haue done hym self. But, sothe it is, he hath alwey ben slowe and rekeles, and soo cheryshed his caytyff careyn, and soo moche suffred hym for to haue his lustes, and seruyd hym to his pleasaunce; soo ferforth that the wretchyd body that oweth to haue ben seruant, hath had the soueraynte and maystre ouer the sowle, that shold haue be mayster and souerayne—what excusacyon may hym in this caas helpe or auayle for to reherce, whan that grace dieu brought hym to her owne place, and ther bytoke hym armoure, and taught hym in that wyse he shold haue had hym self ageyn his aduersayes? And how he ne appryfed nought hyr doctryne, ne dyd no thyng thereafter, I sawe hit, and apperceyued wel my selue yet ferthermore, that

Pylgremage of the Sowle.

he ne shal by no weye excufe hym. It befelle ones when he laye in his bed, cortined lyke a lord, this fame noble lady she dide hym so grete honour that she send hym her own specyal lettres, whiche, when he hadde redde, he sette at lytel prys, but cast them anone fro hym to the erthe; but I fought them vp, and haue them here present whiche I shal rede in your audyence. And wyteth wel, fyr Prouost, though he wold denye it, sothely his name is wryten in the begynnyng, he may not defauowe it!" Soo thenne Justyce toke oute these lettres oute of hyr bosom, and they radde theym, word for word, wherof this is the veray content.

This is the Epytyle that grace sendeth to the fyke fowle:—

I, Grace, quene and heuenly prynceffe,
As depute by the fouerayne kyng eterne
In erthe alowe, to be theyr guydresse
That lyte the redy weyes for to lerne,
In pylgremage thy felue to gouerne,
Tretying with yerd of loue, and discipline,
To the that haft and must ben one of myne.

Hit is me done to knowe and vnderstande
That thylke dethes sergeaunt, maladye,
She hath areft, and haldyth now in hande
Oppressyng the, not knowynge the for why
I wyl, therefore, as for thy remedy
Ordeyne in my best maner wyse
That thou be hoole, and of thy bed aryse.

I haue ben with the whan thou knewe it nought,
Enferchyng loo! thy pounce of conscyence,
By whiche I knowe the ynnermost of thy thought:
Thou haft thy felue, with veray neclygence,
And also for defaute of dylygence,
Nought takyng hede vnto thy gouernaunce—
Thy felue brought in anguyfhe and greuaunce.

Thou haft with furfet, leuyng sobyrnesse,
Ful greuoufly encombred thy courage,
In lust dyspendyng al thy besynesse
Syth that thou were a childe of tender age.
That now the doth ful grete disauantage.
Wherfor, the nature of thy maladye
Wyl aske sothely a flobotomye.

Alfo, I fee that ful art thou withynne
Of corrupt humour, al aboute y fpred,
That renneth ay bytwene flefshe and fkyne,
That caufyth that thou kepyst now thy bed.
Thyne ydlenes and flouthe hath this y bred.
Thou haft not fwette out of thyn eye a tere,
Whiche thyng to the ful neceffary were.

For yf thou myghteft dayes two or thre
With mynd vpon thy foule wretchydneffe
Haue fuch a fwete, it wold auayle the
For leue it wel, I fay the exprefse,
But yf thou doo the rather befynesse
With fuche a fwete, thy felue to amende,
This maladye wol of the make an ende.

Take hede now, and to thy felfe conuerte,
And fee what wretchydneffe is the withynne,
Er deth take oute thy lyf of thyn herte !
Doo, by my red, anone that thou begynne
To make the clene of al thy fory synne
As fer as thou canft thenke, or afpye,
And wefshe them oute with teres of thyne eye !

For yf the deth fodenly the affayle,
Byleue it wel he fpareth no perfone ;
With hym to trete it may no thyng auayle ;
On the hath he no pyte, though thou grone.
Compleyntes fothely he rewardeth none !
But bufkyth yow vnto pyttes brynke.
On this I rede thou befily bethynke !

Take hede, and here how to euery wyght
Within forth he clepyth pryuely.
Arayeth yow, and, be al redy dyght.
For I wyl come ! byleue it fekerly,
Er ye be ware, paraenture fodenly.
And me byforne there may no prayer fpede,
And none wyl I fpare for no mede.

Byholde, and fee, how his meffagers
Now in a wayte ben leyde for the !

Pylgremage of the Sowle.

Seest thou not age with his whyte heres,
 Hath hyd hym self ful nye? canst thou not see?
 And maladye hath the areft, parde,
 Hereft thou not how they cryen lowde alway?
 "What eyleth vs to tary thus al day?"

How ofte haue I warned the byfore,
 Som whyle aperte, som whyle pryuely,
 That redy sholdest thou haue be euermore.
 Witnesse vpon thy self, I saye the, why
 Thou myght the not excuse vtterly.
 Synderfys, she knoweth euery dele
 She wyl be thyn accuser; wyte it wele.

Anentz me that alwey wold the throwe
 Ful folylly thou haft thy self mystake;
 For thou byhete, this wottest thou wel ynowe,
 That al thy folly woldest thou haue forfake,
 And woldest thy felue very clene make,
 Puttyng thy fletshe vnder subiectyon
 To be gouerned after good refon.

But, fykerly, euery dele reuerse,
 Vfurped hath hyr owne lady ryght
 By her delyte, and lustes ful dyuerse;
 Oppressyng hyr with al hyr mayn and myght.
 A foole is he, as femyth in myn fyght,
 That by lore ne wylle his frend yknowe,
 Tyl that he in meschyef be ouerthrow!

But now, I rede, take good entent, and kepe
 Puttyng away thy slomber and thy slouthe.
 A foole is he that leyth hym self to slepe,
 To whome is ysprunge veray sterre of trouth!
 How ofte haft thou refused, fro thy youthe,
 To here me; and sone haft thou foryete
 My lusty songes very hony swete.

Now sey me, by thy feyth, where thou be he
 Alone of woman in this world ybore
 So clene of wem, that no thyng nedeth the
 To weyle, ne to wepe thy finnes fore?

Nay, fykerly ! and me forthynketh fore
That thou ne canst nought thy wretchednesse
Thy synne, thy surfet, and vnthrytyneffe.

An hard conflycte of bataylle the withynne
Thou fele myght ; but, yf thou be vnwife
How that thy fowle afayled is with synne
And vndercraft, thou art of his malyce ;
And subiect thou hast made thy self to vyce,
Whiche that of god Juge omnipotent,
Condeмпnyd is, withouten iugement.

A shame hath he that at the cheker pleyeth,
Whan that a pown feyith to the kyng, chekmate !
And shame it is whan that the ghooft obeyeth
Vnto thy fleshe, that shold obey algate
Vnto thy ghooft ; and now though it be late
Yet help thy self, and cast hyr vnder foote
Or thou art lost ; ther is none other bote !

In batayl, as it often hath betyd,
A myghty man to falle hit is no shame
The fyrst tyme, the second, and the thyrd,
And ryseth wel : this hold I but a game.
But hugely me thynketh he is to blame,
And worthy as a foole to be repreuyd,
That nought enforcyd hym to be releuyd.

Now youthe may no lenger the excuse,
For age is come, and chalengeth his place
Yeld thy promysse, I wyl it nought refuse !
A foole is he that dyfobeyeth grace,
And is to me ward fallen in trespase,
And castyth hym nought amendys to make.
Suche one what wonder is though I forsake ?

Ful longe haue I byden, and susteyned
To haue amendys of the forfeiture ;
And ere this tyme I haue me not compleyned,
I may nomore thy wretchednes endure.
I rede the, doo thy besynesse, and cure.
Amende thy selfe ; it is ynow to me :
That is the amendys that I aske of the.

Now chefe thy port at whiche thou wilt arriue.
 But two ther ben of folace and dystrefse ;
 At one thou myght thy feluen kepe alyue,
 And euer abyde in ioie and lustynesse.
 That other port is care, and wretchednesse.
 Here cometh deth, and yf that he the smyte
 There nys no leche that may thy lyf respyte.

See now thy self, that thou hast no defense :
 Aboue thy hede, the swerd is redy drawe.
 I rede that thou loke thy conscyence,
 How thou hast lyued ayenst thy lordys lawe.
 And after this another wey thou drawe,
 That al thy tyme in foly hast dyspendyd,
 Yet at the last lete it be amendyd.

How oftyme haue I the told, and taught
 The worthynesse of vertu, and the mede ;
 How ofte haue I the fro the clothes caught
 Of Sathanas, yet tokeft thou none hede !
 But now beware, and nought withouten nede.
 For fykerly the bowe is bent full fore,
 To smyte the : thenne may I doo nomore.

The byrd that syngeth on the braunche on hye,
 And sheweth hym self a lusty iolyuet,
 Vnto the deth is smyten sodeynly,
 Er he be ware, or taken with a net.
 I haue the sayd how deth the hath affett,
 And wel nye vndermynded is thy wal.
 But thou beware, ful greuous is thy fall !

Allas ! what thynkest thou ? what wylt thou feyne
 On thylke day of anger and of drede
 Vnto the hye Juge souereyne ?
 What doest thou, man, why takeft thou none hede ?
 Yf thou wylt be releuyd in thy nede
 What helpyth it thus for to telle and preche ?
 But shewe thy fore to me that am thy leche.

And I the shal auoyde of thy fylthe,
 Receynyng the anone vnder my cure.

I shal the brynge, of redynesse, the tylth,
Soo that thou shalt thy felue wel assure
That, whan thy fleshe is leyd in sepulture,
Thou shalt be lyft vp in to heuen blyffe,
Eternal myrthes shalt thou neuer mysse !

CAPITULO XXIII^o.

Here Justyce exceptyth ageyne al excusacions.

WHAT tyme that Justyce had red this letter, she sayde vnto the Juge,—“ Byholde, fyre prouost, how grete honour and worshyp hath grace dieu shewyd to this pylgrym, what chere she made hym by content of this letter, hym techyng and enformyng how for to saue hym self; so that by my wil he ne shal nought be herd of his excusacyon. And ouer this, to grete shame and confusyon of his owne persone, I say ferthermore, that he hath redde bokes of moralyte whiche that techen kyndely how that vertu shold be loued, and what wey a trewe pylgrym owed for to take, and not for to mystorne to one syde, ne to other. But he, as a fool, hath lachessed, and lost his tyme in veray vanyte. He auantith hym also of his skryp and burdon, whiche, as he seyth, he ne lest neuer. But what suppose ye yf he had ben in the cruel tyme of Nero, other in the felle tyrauntes tyme Dyocleciane, and of other perilous pursuers of the feyth, whiche in that tyme enforcyd them for myscryppe pylgryms, with al theyr besynesse, and elles, with importable peynes, put them to the deth? I suppose that ful smartely he wold haue voydyd his scrippe, for al this grete auante! Outher of the perylous Heretyke Arrys, outhere other of his secte had met with hym, I drede that ful soone he wold haue byraсте hym that scrip, and broken his burdon, of kepnyng of whiche now he auanteth hym. Wherefore, there is nought why that now he make his bofte, wher by he may excusen hym. He seyth also, that Sathan hath hym deceyued, excytyng hym to al euyl werkes in whiche he hath surfetyd, and that he hath withdrawen hym fro werkes of penaunce; of whiche mater it wold more auaylen for to hold his pees. For why? Yf he had vsed the armure that grace dieu had delyuered hym, Sathan shold but lytel myght or none haue had ayenst his persone; for ther is neuer man ouercomen by hym, but only of his owne consent. In the felue wyse it standeth of the world; for he that seeth and byholdeth hit, standeth euer in perylle, but he that clostyth his syght, that he ne see not vanyte, the wycked world may haue no myght ayenst him. But this foole hath had alwey his syght open therto, and abandouned hym self therto, withouten drede of perylle; receyued the yestes, and the lustes therof with grete ioye, and gladnesse of hert, as oftentymes as it was profered hym. And more ouer, at some tyme with grete cours hath he pursued, and trauayled for to haue it; soo that this excusacyon is of no valure. Wherefore, yf reson and trouthe wil consenten, skil it is, sire Juge, that ye yeue the sentence.”

CAPITULO XXV°.

Refon pledeth ageyne the fely fowle.

HENNE biganne refon for to speke, whome I had as yett not herde speke bifore. "There is none," quod she, "that maye agene feye that Justice hath purposid ful wel hadde grace dieu shewed the right weye to this pilgrim. Ful clerely hath she told hym bifore, that his owne fleshe was his owne enemy, and he wold deceiue him, but he kepte hym selue. She taught him ful pleynty how that he shold faue and defend hym self in eschewing of the places and snares of his enemye. As touchyng the world also, and al his vanyte, I sey in this wyse: that yf ye had wel and thryftely kepte his fyue wyttes, closyng them and byndyng with double and treble boundes, and crossyd his spyrit with good, deuote prayer, as he that sawe hym selue in his daunger, he myght ful well haue anoyed his grete meschyef, and perylous dysese. I can nought see by no thyng that here is seyed att this tyme that he ne hath deseruyd the deth. Now, trouthe," quod she, "seyth what you semyth in this mater?"

HENNE anfuierid trouthe and sayd in this wise: "Al that ye haue said it is ful trewe, and rightwys; for, sothely, excusacion maye hym none auaille. For why? Yf he had his mysdede shewde to his lady, dame Penytance, and tolde hir of his estate, soo that she hadde bathyd hym, bowkid hym, and strongly wesshen hym, than myght hym nought haue failed of skilful excusacyon, and so shold he haue founden favour in this iugement. But, sothe it is, though it so be that he hath at somtyme presented hym self to that lady, he hath ful litel tyme abiden in hir bathe, withoute teris of his eye, or hertely contricion. And litel sauour hath he had therinne, but feined contenance, ne failed nought lest he were repreuyd, and markyd of the peple. He hath also done his enioynte withouten ony peyn, or enforchyng of sorowful herte, withoute withdrawyng fro his euyl custommes, in purpoos, at the doying of his penaunce, for to retorne to his rather foly. And suche maner of penaunce that torneth and retorneth, maye wel be refembled to the whele of a mylle, that lyghtly torneth alwey to ther that he bygan: For thy on hym is falle the sentence of the sauter *in circuitu impii ambulans*, 'the wycked goth alwey in compas,' retornyng fro synne to penaunce, and eft fro theyr penaunce to synne ageyne. And such manere of penaunce is nought but scornynge of penaunce, ne hath but wrong his name. Wherfor this pilgrym hath deseruyd his deth by ryghtwys iugement."

"The wicked
walk on every
side."—PSALM
xii. 8.

CAPITULO XXVI°.

Here Sathanas axeth Jugement.

SATHANAS thenne bygan for to crye, "Loo Mychael," quod he, "now myght thou noo lenger dyffymylen the sentence, that thou ne must by jugement delyuere me my prysoner! Wherfore I requyre the, syth that al myn

artycles, and many moo than I couthe remembre, ben here in this court alledged, and proued by suffisaunt record, and also by his owne confessyon, that thou yeue the sentence, as therto bilongeth, delyueryng me myn askyng. And ful soone he shal be brought in torment, and peyne eternal, perdurable." Whan I had herde these wordes, I felle sodeynly in swounyng for cause of grete heuynesse and drede, that I had no word, ne myght I speke, ne wyft what to say. And, as me thought, and verayly supposyd, the Juge made hym selue redy, femyng by his chere for to yeue the sentence of my dampnacyon. Sodeynly come that worthy lady whiche that byfore hand had buryed my body, that was clepyd dame Misericorde, and spekyng to the prouost she sayd in this wise.

CAPITULO XXVII^o.

Here Mercy pledyth for the sowle.

SYRE prouost," quod she, "I haue wel herde and sene how that Reason, Trouthe, and Justyce, haue spoken in this mater, and haue ententyfly herkened to theyr wordes; wherfor I requyre you that I also wel may haue wilful audyence for the poure partye. For, yf I dyde not my deuoyre and myn offyce, sothly my name that am clepeth, as ye wele knoweth wele, Mizericord, I bere it but in veyn. Good skyle it is that Justyce and Trouthe att al tymes be seruyd. And sothely Reason wyll, that I, with my swetnesse, modefy and amende the rygoure of rightwysenesse. Ye knowe wel, Sire Juge, that by the weye that men mote nedes passe ther nys no pylgrym that goth so redyly but that oftymes he mote foruoyen; and somtyme he muste passe by foule weyes, neuertheles, somme more, and somme lesse, fayleth in this wyse. And eueryche knoweth wel that here is now present, there was neuer yet no pylgrym so hooly ne parfyte, that he hath oftymes erryd and fayled in his weye,—excepte the fouerayne lord, that ones bycome a trauaylour, and a pylgrym, to teche men the weye. For er the tyme that he hadde done this, there was neuer pylgrym that acheuyd parfytely the ende of his iourne. At whiche tyme it is not her vnknownen Dame Justice, that now is here present, withsaide me ful fore, and let me ful long of my purpoos, nought for thy at the laste we felle at acord: and soo hope I at thys tyme that we shal also here, in your presence, of thynges that I shal seye ageynst hir rigour, whiche is somewhat ouer straite bent vpon this mater. Sith it soo is that this bleffid lord Jhesu Crist somtime soo ferforth remitted his rigour, descending downe to the erthe oute of his heuenly trone, to helpe welshe and relue his peple whiche the wretchyd horrible owle of helle had drawen out of theyr nest, hit femyth me that good reason wyll that tho whiche ben subgettes to this fouerayne lord owen for to drawe hym after his example. You selue, thenne, that fytteth here as iuge in this present assyse oweth, as me semeth, holde and sewe the maner and the guyse of this noble lorde, namely, in youre Jugementes. Also ye owe for to helpe and defende fro this curfyd owle pryncipally al tho that bere* skrypp and burdon,

* See "Le Pèlerinage de l'Homme," p. 25. London: B. M. Pickering, 1858.

and haue kept it manfully to theyr weyes ende. Now apperceyue I wel that it standeth thus, that this present pylgrym hath done his deuoyr duely at al tymes in kepyng his scrip and his burdone. And also, be it that he hath at somtyme erryd and mys-gone, and ben empechyd in his forseyde iourney, as it is knowen in this court; yet hath he douteles done some maner of penaunce and withdrawen hym often fro euyl, for loue of his creatour,—and al somme tyme the ensamples of other seyntes, though it soo be that he ne hath rought done as they dyde, that whylome were feruent in the loue of Crist, by vertue of his passyon, and of his blessyd blood, that al thylk tyme was yet newe shed, al smokyng hoot. For ryght as fyre warmeth and eschaufeth tho that stonde nye, welmore than other that stonde after, ryght soo thylke hooly men that were nye that tyme hadde more enchefon and more heuenly receyued by vertu of this precyous bloode, than these that now ben come so long tyme therafter; al be it that the vertu of his passion nouth passyth, ne dispendyth. For why? though this pylgrym haue nought gouerned so hym, ne wonder I nought! This feye I not in purpoos to excuse hym, for wel I wote as muche is he byhalden to his lord, as though that shedde for hym al theyr herte blood, and diyd for his sake. Wherfor, I feye to my purpoos that this forsayd pylgrym oweth nought to be furclosyd fro the grete grace whiche oure lord Jhesus dyde to synful men, what tyme that he suffred dethe for their redempcyon, whiche grace withouten ony fayle shal endure for euer.”

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CAPITULO XXIX°.

Justyce speketh ageyne Mercy.

IVSTYCE thenne spak and seid in this maner: “ Certes,” quod she, “ fyre Prouost, wonder grete grace did that blysfyl lord goddes sone Jhesu to the kynd of man. Ful syth it is he ne dyde them nought that grace for occasyon and lyberte of synne, but his purpoos and entencyon was this, that they shold, after receyuyng of that grace, be more besy and tendre aboute the kepyng of them self, disposyng them in goodly wyse to entre in to paradyse by veray passage of vertu, whiche passage byfore that tyme was so fast closyd and wardyd, that though they had them selue neuer so wel gouerned and dysposyd yet ther come noone within in to that tyme of grace. And wel I wote what proufyte or auauntage that man hath therby, yet is hit sothe that Jhesus Cryst neuer ne suffred deth in mayntenaunce of synnes: but only to theym it shal auayle that haue forsake her synnes, as ferforth as they myght; for sykerly that blisful lord hade made, as me semyth, a symple marchaundyse yf he shold haue taken his deth for tho that neuer wold konne hym no thank, ne neuer wolde amende them of theyr synnes. The deth of Jhesu Cryste may helpe and auayle only to these whiche that retourne fro their errour wilfully. Nought that this was establiished by me but clene ayenste my law—by purchase of this present lady dame Miserycord, to whome I mote at somtyme assent. And elles, sothely, it myght not haue ben suffred. For a ful huge merueyle it is in my syght, for to saue these that so greuouly mystaken agenst hym.”

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CAPITULO XXX°.

Here Mercy with certeine demandes axyng of Justice, induceth a Conclusion that Mercy must haue place.

MY SERICORD thenne spak, and said to the Juge in this wise: "Sire pro-uoost," quod she, "as it is to your selue clerely knowen, thyng witnesse vpon al wise clerkes of whiche many one that here is now present haue redde the bokes, and trouth her selue wil record the sothe, that euery clerke oweth to be considered in iugement after the ende and the pryncipal purpos that ony wight is inne, yf it maye be knowen. But the principal purpos and entent of this pilgrym was alweye to perfourme his iourneye, as it wel semeth, by that he ne leste neuer pilgrymes habite, that is scrip and burdon, al were it soo that he was many dyuerse tymes empechyd in his weye, and put oute therof, ne he entendyd neuer vtterly to forlete his iourneye; as it clerely is preuyd. And also, notwithstanding al his errour, in his laste ende he was founde contrite of in wyll, to amende and satysfy for his trespaas of al that he had myf-done ayenst god and man; euen forth his power. Confession also he hadde, al be it that not so clerely and openly in specyal as it had ben nedeful of euery synguler dede, yet neuertheles that general knowlege of al his synnes, in that he yeld him self fynally ayenst god gylty, is suffysaunt record for hym that he forfoke his synne. Neuerthelesse, by lycence of the Juge, to yow, suster Justice, I haue for to speke. Ye ben, as me femyth, somewhat ouer sharp and rygorous ageynst Pilgryms more than it nedyd. But wyl ye vouchesauf to answere me to, a fewe demaundes that I shal aske of you?" Quod Justice, "as ye lyst." "Syth it soo is," quod Mercy, "that no thyng is done, ne neuer was, ne shal, of god, oure souerayne lorde, withouten skilful cause, as reson hyr selue wyl recorde, to what ende or for what encheson was man made for to ben chyef and pryncipal of erthely creatures?" Her to answerd Justyce, and said in this wyse, "Man was made chyef of erthely creatures for to receyue the seruyse of al other lower creatures, and hym selue to serue and obeye his creatour, yeldyng to hym, and retornyng by thankyng and presyng and by his other good obseruaunces al the seruyse that he receyued of these other creatures, and soo by his seruyse al creatures shal be knyt in compas to hyr fyrst maker."

"Ful sothe it is," quod Mercy, "and therefore is he partyner of bothe two kyndes, hauynge bodely matere of the erthe, and forme substancial fro heuen, that ryght as the eyez that of nature is hoote, and moyst, knettith to geders fyre and water, as parteyner of bothe tho kyndes, ryght so man, of heuenly nature and erdely very partyner, knytteth to geders bothe heuen and erthe. Yet ferthermore," quod Mercy, "to what ende was lawe made and ordeyned of god, and taken to Moyse in the montayne? and whether alle other lawes ordeyned of man be not subalternall for to serue the lawe of oure lord?" "Thenne," said Justice, "the lawe that oure lord wrote in the two tables ben only ten heftes, and al the remenaunt of the lawe ne were not but obseruaunces and menes necessary for the tyme to kepyng of these heftes; whiche obseruaunces, Crist, at his

Isai. xxviii. 19.

comyng, auoydyd, as than nought necessary. But the course of the law he renoueled in his gospel by his subtile and necessary counceyles. The cause of the ordeynance of this lawe was for to teche the rude peple in what wise they shold serue theyr creatour, and obeye to his plesance: with resonable werkes doying, and vnskyful werkes forberyng. And al other worldly lawes ben, as ye seyn, subalterned to gods lawe, in enforcyng ther of, for to compelle vnboxom men to kepyng of this lawe." "Syth it so is thenne," quod Mercy, "that bothe by goddes lawe, and mannes, ben ordeyned peynes and punysshementes, in to what were they fyrst deuysed?" "In chastysyng," quod Justyce, "of misdoers and brekers of goddes lawe, for to drawe theyr hertes by dreede and felynge of peynes fro mysfrewled affections, and so for to make them for to thynke theye forfet and compelle them by suche wyse to kepe goddes lawe; for to suche folk, as feyth the wyseman, *Sola vexacio dabit intellectum*, tribulacion and anguysshe only maketh such men vnderstand that al is nought leeful that lusteth." "This is ful sothe," quod Mercy, "but I wolde wyte of yow, in to what ende was ordeyned Jugement of deth both bodely, and ghooftely?" "Sothely," quod Justyce, "Jugement of deth was ordeyned for tho that ben obftynate, and rebelle, and wylle by no weye obeye to goddes lawe, lesthe they shold with theyr malyce drawe many other to the same maner of mysgouernaunce, and so destroublen the rewle and the ordre of al the wnyuerfite, that god and his creatures shold not be knette to geders by due seruyse and obeisaunce done to hym selue; so that by the drede of deth, *poteft ultimum terribilium*, the last and most dredeful thing, other shold be chastised and withdrawen fro forfet. Also the iugement of eternal peyn was made for al tho that fynally rebellyth ayene gods wil." "Yet put I this cas," quod Mercy, "that that a certeyn lord hath bouzt and payed for hym his raunfon, in purpos for to haue hym for his seruauant perpetuel, and therto he is assured; this lord chargith him vpon peyn of fore punysshement that he hast him to his own court, ther to done hym seruyse. This seruauant thus bouzt and raunfond is lettid by the wey, somewhat by foly of hym self, somewhat by other that desyre his seruyse, so that he taryeth fro his lord dayes and yeres, yet at the last he breketh out of these malicious mennes handes, and comyth to hys lord, submyttyng hym lowely to his grace, and offrith hym self redy to his seruyse, so as he can or may, whether shal the lord refuse this seraunt, and delyuer hym to thylk that haue withholden him, either els he shal receyue hym in to his own seruyse?" "By myn auys," quod Justyce, "he shal be punysshed proporcionably after the tyme of his absence, and sithen receiued in to his seruyce at his lordes wil, ne to tho that withholden hym he ne shal not be delyuerd." "Thenne," quod Mercy, "the punysshement shalle nought execute by thought that empechyd hym." "No sothly," quod Justyce, "standyng that he hath thus lowely submytted hym to his lordes seruyse." "Yet aske I ferthermore," quod Mercy, "whether a seruauant thus bought maye make ony testament?" "Sothly," quod Justyce, "he may make none withouten his lordes leue, as for to alyene ony goodes out of his lordes hond." "What?" quod she, "yf he byquethe al his good to his owne lord, standyth the testament?" "Why shold it not?" quod she, "as veray strengthyng of the lordes ryght!" "Thenne," quod Mercy, "who that enforcen for to byreuen this lord that seruauant, or ony of his

goodes, by that fame seruantes lyf, or after his deth, wrongeth the lord in the dede."
"In certeyne," quod Justyce, "this is ful sothe."

CAPITULO XXXI°.

Here Mercy concludeth upon these answers.

HENNE sayd Mercy thus to Justyce: "Sothly, suster," quod she, "sauyng your reuerence, your rygoure, by youre owne Jugement, is somwhat vnmeasurable, withoute that ye be gouerned somwhat by me. And ye that oweth to yelde eueryche that to his ryght bylongeth, me thinketh that ye fayle of youre offyce, but yf ye demene your self in this caas after my counceylle, and I shal seye yow why. Sith it so is that man was made, as ye sey, fynally to this entent and ende, to be goddes seruaut, and for to knette to god al erthely creatures by retorne of His seruyce, then ne wrongeth ye the souerayn lord that besyeth about to alyene this seruaut, and forclosen fro that offyce that he was ordeyned fore. Also, syth the lawe wryten of god bytaken to Moyse, and also the lawe of the Gospel yeuen by Cryst hym selue, and practysed in his owne persone, entendyth no thyng elles, as ye sey, with subalternacion of al other resonable lawes, but for to teche the peple, and holde them vnder gouernaunce for to make them obeie to his seruyse, by what skyle may thenne ony wyght withdrawe this pylgrym fro his lordes seruyce, by desordeyne rygour of ryghtwysnes, for to exclude hym, and schytte hym fro this deute? But herto ye seyn that he oweth to be punysshed: for that he hath mysdone; but, by your own sentence, punysshement was deuised for to drawe pertes of men fro foule affection, and for to chastise them for that they haue mysdone; which chastisement is a maner medicin to purge thaffection of man. Thenne semith it wel also soone as thaffection is clenfid by hertely forthinkyng in ful wil and purpos to kepe gods law, the punysshement shold cesse, and this seruaut resorte to his lordes seruyce; namely, sith it so is that this seruyce is of more value infynytely than is ye punysshement; for a very fool may he be clepid that leith a plaister corosyf to a wounde, after that he is purged—for it shal thenne noyen, and no thyng auayle to hele. And worldly lawe also vseth this condicion, that yf a man hath done trespas to another, either offendyd his lord in ony thyng, for whiche he shal be punysshed; also sone as he knowlecheth the trespas, and maketh amendys, byndyng hym selue neuer after to offende, thenne shal he be receuyd of his punysshement, and al that is done ouer this, may rather be clepyd cruelte than ryghtwysnes. Al be it so that this pylgrym hath greuouly trespacid, yet at his passyng oute of the world he stode in this plyte: wherfore, he oweth not to be putte in eternal peyne, how euer it be of other punysshement. For why? as ye haue sayd your self, 'Jugement of deth and eternal peyne was ordeyned only for tho that ben rebelle and obstynate ageynst gods lawe, lest they shold be malycious excityng to bryng many other to the same mysgouernaunce soo that the ordre of vnyuersyte shold be destroubled.' But sothe it is nouthur this pylgrym is obstynate, ne purposith not to dystrouble the vnyuersal ordre, ne euyl example may he none yeue after this tyme to noo creature. Wherfor he oweth not to be delyuerd to eternal peyne. Thenne con-

clude I thus by youre Jugement, that this pilgrym, Cristes seruauant, bought and raun-
soned with his precious blood, al though he haue by malyce of his enemyes be taryed
fro his lordes seruyce, yett at the laste he brake oute of theyr handes, and come to his
lord, submytting hym to his grace, offryng hym self lowely to his seruyce he ne oweth
not be delyuerd to his enemyes, though that he shal be punysshed for the trespace :
but he oweth at the lordes wil be taken to his grace, and after skilful punysshement ben
admytted to his lordes seruise. This is youre oune sentence ! how thenne wil ye
acquyte yow in this mater that by rygour of punysshement wolde haue this man delyuerd
to his enemy and alayned fro his lordes seruyce, to grete wrong and amenufying of his
worshyp ?”

“ And also, as ye sey your self, the testament that he maketh in yeuyng al that he
hath to his lord shal stonde in effect in ful record of his lordes ryght. And who that
procureth ony suche alayenacion he wrongeth the lord. Why thenne be ye so besy to
delyuer this man, out of the lordes seruyce that hath by testament yeuen hym self euer-
lastyng to the same lord ? This was his last wil, and who that withstandith the last wil
offendith the lawe. Wherfor, suster, ye ben ouer rigorous, as me semyth.”

CAPITULO XXXII°.

Reson consentith to Mercy and the iuge biddeth arayen the balaunce.



THIS word dame Reason made a sygne to Justyce, as though she wolde seye
this is very skylful that Mercy hath spoke. And thenne anone the Juge com-
maundyng Justyce for to take hyr balaunce, and set it in suche a place that it
myght openly be sene, and sayd to hyr thus : “ In decyfyon aud styntyng of al maner
of stryf, take al the merytees and good dedes of this present pylgrym, and put them in
that one parte of the balaunce, and in that other syde al the forfetyes, and trespaces that
Sathanas can bryng forth by record of Synderefys—the pylgryms vpon the ryght syde,
and that other vpon the lyft syde ; and soone it shal appere whiche hath the better partye,
ne mercy shal no suspecion haue toward me that I haue ought receyued of yestes, ne
take no mede of nouthur parte. The balaunce wyll nought lye, but withoute fauour
iuge the trouthe.”

CAPITULO XXXIII°.

*How Justyce apoynted hyr balaunce, Reson and Trouth standyng in eyther syde ; and how
the pylgrym leyd in the skryp and burdon, and Synderefys with Sathanas bylle weyed
in that other syde.**



HENNE, vpon a skaffold on hye, aboue this corteyne, Dame Justyce shewed
hyr self, and apoynted hyr balaunce that both partyes weyed lyke heuy.
This lady was gyrd with a swerd with a thwong, al with gold apparaylled.

* See Coloured drawing No. II. Plates III. and IV. and Note A.

Hyr femed wel a lady of ful huge estate as duchesse, or prynceffe, ne none was that fawe hyr that he ne trembyld for drede.

Reſon alſo was with hyr whoos eyen ſhyned bryghter than the ſonne ſo ferforth that hyr fyght percyd al maner of obieſtys aboute in euery fyde: I fawe alſo the thyrd that had the mouthe al clene burnyd gold. And it was me certyfied of other that knewe hyr perſone that hyr name was Trouthe. But whan I fawe theſe thre gone to geders, whiche hadde, as me ſemyd, long taryed me with theyr parlement, defyryng my dampnacion, I was ryght moche deſmayed, namely ſyth that in theyr balaunce my merytes ſholde be peyſed, wherupon had I no maner of truſte; for none other thyng had I for to leye therin but only my ſcrip and my burdon, that peyſed but lytel, as I fawe wel afterward. Neuertheles, in the balaunce I leyd it. And there ayeine myn enemy leyde in his accuſement, wryten in the bylle by tellyng of Synderesys. There was neuer notary, ne tabellyon, that me ſo fore agryſed; for that bylle whan it was leyd in the balaunce peyſed ſo fore, that ſmartely that other fyde aroos as nought hadde ben therin; and yet that me greued moche wors, by cauſe that the peis ſhold be the more Synderesys hym ſelue ſtyrte in to the balaunce. Thenne bygan Sathan for to cryen with a lowde voys and ſeyd: "Now," quod he, "thou lady on the ſkaffold, thou ſeeſt wel how it is; make now this prouoſt, that ſoo long hath taryed me, for to yeue Jugement as faſt!"

CAPITULO XXXIIII^o.

How that Mercy taryed the Court, whyle ſhe wente to heuen and purchacyd a chartre of pardon.

BUT thenne herde I how humbely dame Miſericord gan to prayen for me, and ſaid in this wyſe: "Now dere Mychael," quod ſhe, "wylle ye vouchſaue a whyle for to tarye in youre Jugement? I haue a lytel thyng to doo aboue in heuen: I thynke ther to purchace a grace that no thyng ſhall be to your preiudyce." Then ſayd the prouoſt: "It lyketh me ryght wel at your requere for to abyde tyl that ye be retorned. I pray yow tarye nought." Soo then was the Jugement ſuſpendyd in to the tyme that Mercy had ben in heuene; and ſmartely, withouten taryeng, ſhe had done hyr deuoyre, and was deſcended doune vpon the ſkaffold. And ſothely ſo fawe I wel ſhe was that ſeluen fayre ſwete, that bare hir breſt alwey redy oute of hyr boſome which had me before hand in my fleſhly lyf ful often tyme comfortid. And now ſhe dyde me moche more comfort, what tidyngeſ that ſhe brought. In her hond ſhe brought a ſkypet, and neyeng toward the balaunce with the hede enclyned, ſhe ſayd to the balauncer: "How is it," quod ſhe, "in oure partye?" "Sothely," quod Juſtice, "had ye nought taryed this Court, ful long tyme paſſyd, this pilgrym had be foriuged; witneſs vpon Trouthe and Reaſon!"

"Now thenne," quod Myſericord, "ſhal I telle wherfore I haue trauayled." And ſhe took forth the Charter, and ſayd, "I haue ben in preſence of oure lord Jheſu Cryſt, and his bleſſyd moder, and byfore all the compagne of ſeyntes aſſembled to geders for

Pylgremage of the Sowle.

helpe of this pilgrym. And so haue I here of oure lordes graunt and chartre of pardon which I shal rede to fore yow ; whereof who that wylle shal haue the Copy." Thenne tooke she forth a fayre chartre asselyd with gold, and redde it openly, word for word, whereof this is the sentence.

THE CHARTRE OF MERCY.

HESU kyng of hye heuen aboue,
 To Mychael my chyef lyeutenaunt
 And al thyn asselours which I loue,
 That in my seruyse ben perfeueraunt,
 Haue euermore, and to me ful plefaunt,
 My gretynge, and vpon the payne of drede
 Unto this present chartre taketh hede.

Me hath befought this present lady here
 Myferycord.* * * *

* * * *

Ther ben pylgryms, as they certyfy,
 That toward me theyr weyes hadde take
 Whiche haue mysgone, and erryd folylly
 By styryng of the fowle fendes blake,
 That somme of them theyr iourney had forsake ;
 And este theyr iourney had ayene begonne,
 But sodenly hath fayled them the sonne.

Some haue be lette by fowle temptacion,
 And styryng of theyr fleshely wretchydnesse ;
 Somme, by dyfese and tribulacion,
 And fallen in to huge heuynesse ;
 And somme also the worldes besynesse
 Soo greuouly theyr hertes ouersett,
 Of theyr iourney soo that they haue be let.

But than they haue repentyd wonder fore,
 Some of them but ryght at theyr lyues ende,
 And somme of them a lytel what before
 Bygonne theyr lyues somewhat to amende,
 In wylle therafter neuer to offende
 Haue shryue them of al theyr old trespace,
 And put them felue holly in my grace.

* The intercession of the Virgin Mary is introduced here and in the other parts which have been omitted.

* * * * *
This grace I graunt them of my Regalye
That I shal them receyue vnto my pees
Of helle peyne I graunt them ful relees.

Soo that they haue me, Jhesu, mercy ! cryed
Or that the brethe oute of the body yede,
And al theyr ful lustes haue defyed
In veray feyth, as techeth them the Crede.
Soo that ye shal ayenst them nought procede,
As to foriuge them to helle peyne ;
But that in this Rygour ye refreyne !

To mercy here I haue bytake
Of the trefour of my bytter passyon

* * * * *
To counterpeyse ageynst the fendes part,
Soo that he fayle of his entencion
To bringe them so with his subtile art ;
To haue them juged to dampnacion ;
For that hath ben his occupacion,
With curfidnesse of al the synnes seuene
Syth tyme that he was chacyd oute of heuene.

And nought for thy this is not myn entent ;
Ne, for this cause my blood ne shed I nought
That ony wyght in misgouernement
Abyde shold, and truste in his thought
That hym this chartre shold auayle ought,
And of this pardon be partynere,
Or of this grace that I haue grauntyd here.

Therefore, oute of this chartre I except
Tho alle whiche in to theyr lyues ende
Haue euermore in curfyd synnes slept,
Purposing nought theyr lyues to amende,
Vpon the tryft them selue to defende
Fro helle peyne by this present grace.
Alle tho shal be exyled fro my face.

And these also, whiche that ben obftynate,
And neuer wylle to my lawe obeye.

These also, that ben veray desperate,
That wylle no grace ne no mercy preye,
But ryght foo in theyr curfyd synnes deye.
So thenne is dewe the hoothe fyre of helle
With Sathanas eternally to dwelle.

Wherfor, no man foo bold ne hardy be
Tryftyng vppon this present pardonaunce
To forfette, or to synne in no degre
Vpon the trift of fynal repentaunce,
Which is my yest; and after my plessaunce
I yeve it them that shal my mercy haue,
Withoute whiche no wyght ne wyl I haue.

CAPITULO XXXVI°.

How Justyce byfore the Juge pledyd ayene the chartre, affyrmyng it insuffysaunt as for the forsayd sowle.

WHAT tyme that this chartre was redde Justice somwhat egrely lokyd vpon Misericord, and sayd to hyr thus: "Syfter," quod she, "ye haue ful wel purchacyd for somme of pylgryms; but for this present pylgrym, thy labour but lytel auayleth, as semyng is to me." Thenne Reason and Trowth seyden to Justyce, "Syth it foo is that this maundement is dyrected pryncipally to the prouost, as lyeutenaunt and Juge at this tyme, and sythe, secondly, to vs that ben his assessours, pryncipally to hym this mater apperteyneth. Wherfore in decyfyon of stryf go we fast to hym, and see what he seyth to this chartre; and, as he wylle that shal be done, we shal applye vs fully withoute ayenseyng." Soo thenne at this poynt they ben acordyd, and wente to the Prouost, and toke hym this chartre. Thenne sayd Justyce to the prouost thus: "Syre prouost," quod she, "I doo yow to vnderstande that this lady Misericord, fauynge hyr syfterhede, hath caused in this Courte grete annoye in taryenge of oure Jugementes in this present assyse, by cause of purchacyng of this letter, which ye see your self of what it shal auayle—it standeth at youre plessaunce. But, me semyth forsothe, that somme poyntes conteyned therynne ben not to be receyued; for they semyn geten and purchacyd by surreptyon, and importune prayer, whiche the souerayne kyng of his debonayrte he can, ne may nought werne. But it bylongeth to yow, that ben his lyeutenaunt, for to doo rizt and equitye. For why? the offence is wonder grete ayenst that lord, that euer is perdurable, whoos lordshyp and soueraynte is withoute ende, and mesure. Yf so is thenne, that this present pilgrym shold haue peyne determyned, enduryng for a tyme, I can not se wherof hereafter shold serue my balaunce."

CAPITULO XXXVII^o.

How after a longe counseyll bolden bytwene the Juge and his affeßours, the balaunce was lyft vp, and the forset with merytes was put to peysen ayenst the fendes partye.

THENNE, after the fownynge of a trompette, the Prouofte lete make a grete conuocation, and thus I herd hym feye: "Cherubyn, dere broder, at this present nede I preye yow that ye helpe. Ye also, Justyce, Reason, and Trouthe, and ye also, Peter, porter of heuen, and al other whiche of ryght oweth to be present, yeueth now good counceyll what best is in this mater! Loo! here cometh this reuerent lady, dame Mysericord, whiche hath brought a letter to our fouereyne lord, to me, and to yow also, for this present pylgrym; whiche letter, by cause it is to yow vnknowe, now hereth it redde byfore yow." Thenne held they a counceyl so softe and so styll that I nomore herd for a good space. And thenne I bethought me vpon that sylence, that seynt John speketh of in his apocalips, whiche sylence was made in heuen, what tyme that Sathanas was chacyd fro thennes in to the pytte of helle. Soo hoped I thenne somme tydynges for to here ageyne the malyce of my peryllous accusour, whiche that abode my Jugement. So whan that this counceyl had dured a long space, at the last I herde cryed with a lowde voys, that anon the balaunce shold be take, and the Juge shold yeue Jugement.* Anone this lady Justyce took this balaunce by the ryng, and bygan to reyse hit vp, that one bacyn henge al doune to ground, and that other was reysed alofte, wherein semyd ful litel. And that other that was alowe semyd so ful ther myght nomore be in. Thenne sayd this balauncer, whiche I fond euermore fyers ayenst me, "Syre prouost," quod she, "byholde how it standeth, and, of all the remenaunt doo as lyketh yow, for I haue done my deuoyre, tyme is it that ye doo yours. I haue nomore to feye."

Thenne said Misericord:—"Syre prouost," quod she, "ye haue wel sene and vnderstande what grace oure lord Jhesu Cryst hath graunted this pilgrym by this present chartre whiche ye haue redde and sene with your counceyl. And, as it semyth me, al your counceyl is wel consentyng to, and loo here the forset, whiche by your lycence I haue sette in heuene, lete put it in the balaunce, and thenne shal we see how it wyl goo, and how this balaunce, wyll bere it selue vpon bothe parties." Thenne was this forset put in the bacyn on the ryght syde, whiche peysed anone so myghteley, that notwithstanding al that was in that other, yet was it peysed vp sodenly as nouzt had be thereynne. And thenne sayd mercy thus:—"Syre prouost ye see by the grace that I haue brought, how oure parte peyseth. Doth now youre deuoyre as the grace asketh."

* See Plate II. and Note B.

CAPITULO XXXVIII°.

Here is yeuen the Jugement of Saluacyon of the sowle, sendyng hym to purgatory.

HENNE beganne the Prouost speke to me, and sayd in this maner:—"Pylgrym," quod he, "take hede what I shal sey to the. Thou hast here in this Courte many grete frendys whos names I telle the nought at this tyme, thou shalt wel knowen whiche they ben here after. But how moche this worthy lady Mysericord hath laboured for thy saluacion in parte thou knowest. And sothely had nought ben that grace whiche that she purchacyd for the, and for other of oure lord Jhesu whiche she wanne, and got with ful grete labour, that now she hath leyd in the balaunce, thou haddest be dampned to endeles deth, euer, withoute ende! Soo now shal I telle the what thou mote nedes do. Thou shalt take ageyne thy scrippe, and thy burdon, whiche thou haddest byfore. And here to dame Justyce I yeue in ful charge that she trusse thy fardel of al thy wretchyd synnes, whiche Sathanas hath putt in the balaunce. This fardel shalt thou bere in to purgatorye, and there shalt thou brenne it, and soo longe must thou there abyde tyl it be al wasted, and thou clene purged of al thy fowle synnes. Thus shalt thou make thy gree with Justyce, that Mercy and she be fynally acorded; whiche acord may neuer be brozt to an ende, but yf thy mysdedes be punysshed at the left, for a certeyne tyme. And to this she hath goodly agreed hyr selue, slakyng hyr ryghtwys rygour at the instaunce of Mysericord. And elles she was auysed that thou sholdest haue had eternal punysshement, of whiche thou art releyd: specyally by vertue of thy chartre of pardon, and the lytel forset of Trefour, whiche mercy brought from heuene. And thynke not thy selue lytel holden to Justyce by cause she hath so besyly pursewed ageyne the: for, sothely, the good lord grauntyd neuer grace in preiudyce of hir balaunce, ne none may be saued withoute hyr assent. So is she at this tyme assentyd to thy saluacion, in this maner wyse as I haue told the here. This is thy sentence and thy Jugement; spede the fast hennes, that this were perfourmed ryght as I haue the seyde!"

CAPITULO XXXIX°.

How Sathanas maketh protestacion of apele fro this Jugement.

BUT this ne suffryd nought easly this cursyd Sathanas, but hydously began to crye, and sayd:—"Mychael," quod he, "thou dost here no ryght, but grete wrong and veray fals trefon, that thou sendist here this wretchyd pylgrym in to payne temporel, that dureth but a space only, for the prayer of this vnthryfty fals conspyratryce Mysericord! Myschaunce mote she haue! for this fals bulle whiche she hath traytourfly hyr seluen counterfeted, outhir elles by fals suggestion subtylly purchacyd, sholde lyghtely haue be withseyd, yf I must haue hadde tyme and place of audyence. And no doubte yf Justyce must haue trauayled therefore, she wold ful soone

haue purchacyd a bulle in contrary. Outher, yf I myght haue gone, I wold my self haue done it; and wyte it wel, yf my counseyl wyl it, I shal appele fro thy sentence, as for veray fals and very open wrong, though I the dysplese yet spare ne wyl I nought, and to the souerayne Juge wyl I bryng this cause at the last day of general assyse; and yf ther may be founden in thy Jugement ony poynt of errour, he shalle spoyle the thy worshyp and of thy prouostry with grete shame and shendeshyp. And certeynly, yf I wyft that it shold be plefaunt to Lucefer, my lord, and al the grete councyl of hell, anon withouten taryeng I wold openly appelle. Wherfor I make protestacyon in presence of this court, that within ten dayes I shal make myn appelle, yf soo is that my councyl assente therto. And wyte it wel, forsothe, that this pylgrym shal no weye passen that I nyl doo my besynesse to greuen hym yf I may; and euer wylle I ben his enemy euen forth my power." Ful sorrowful was this Sathanas when he sawe that he ne myght nought acheuen hys desyre; and grete anguysh he hath, when ony pylgrym escapeth hym so by Jugement.

HERE ENDETH THE FYRST BOOKE OF THE PYLGRYMAGE
OF THE SOWLE.



Liber Secundus.

Here begynneth the fecond book.

CAPITULO XL°.

How the fowle was brought to purgatory.

WHAN I hadde herd the sentence of my Jugement, I was wonder glad, by cause of my sekynesse that I shold be saued. So thenne, withoute moche taryeng, ful smartely had Justyce arrayed my fardel by commandement of the prouost, and in this mene tyme ful merueylous thynges I bothe sawe and herd. There come an huge company of pylgryms syngynge with a ioyeful tone, eueryche of them more bryght shynynge than the sonne at myddaye, hauynge with them eueriche his owne Angel, that led them by theyr handes. And this was the noble songe that I herd them synge :—

HONOURED be thou, blysfyl lord on hye !
That of the blessed mayden was y bore,
And with thy deth vs boughtest myghtely ;
Thyne owne fleshe and blood thou yafe vs fore,
And for vs suffred peynes wondre fore,
Bothe feete and hand nayled to the roode,
And bleddest al thy veray hertes blood.

Honoured thou be, fader souerayne,
That vouchesauf suche raunson for to fende,
Thyne owne loued sone to suffre payne,
Oure myfese and our meschyef to amende.
Thou, holy ghooft, that art withouten ende
With fader and sonne one god in Trynyte
For euer honoured be thy mageste !”

* * * *

How the angels answered.

What tyme that theſe pylgryms had ſongen in this Wyſe, theyr Aungels that ledden them answerd another ſong ful ſwete, and ful delycious, and ſeyden as it foloweth :—

THE ANGELS' SONG.

ALMYGHTY lord, our blyſful Kyng Jheſu,
Thou Myrour of the faders mageſti,
In whom is ſene his myghte and vertu !
The Welle of Wytte and Wiſedom is in the,
To whoos preſence now we retourned be
With the pylgryms which we to the bryngeth,
To thyn honoure ful joyeful ſyngeth.

Towards the ful long they haue trauayled,
Thou woteſt thy ſelf, how they haue be diſtreſſid.
The fals fende, ful fore hath them aſſailed,
And greuouſly dyſeſyd, and oppreſſyd,
But of thy grace his malyce was repreſſyd,
And of thy mercy wel they ben releuyd,
And their entent fully they haue acheuyd.

What labour and anguiſhe haue we had,
Syth that we took them in our gouernaunce,
Jheſu, thou woſt ; and now we ben ful glad
Of all that we haue done to thy pleaſaunce.
Wher for thou wylt with reward vs auance
Suche as the lyft, aboue in thy blyſſe
There abyde in ioie euer withouten myſſe.

Lo ! we preſentyn to thy hand ageyne
Almighty Lord, that thou to vs bytake.
Honoured be thou, Jheſu, ſouerayne,
Of all that we haue laboured for thy ſake !
Of this laboure amende now thou make.
Thy creatures vnto thy preſence
Receyue them, of thyn hye benyuolence.

For though they haue ought erryd or myſwent,
They haue abought it wonder hard and fore
Ypurged with grete paynes, and torment,

Pylgremage of the Sowle.

As duely was aiuged them ; ther fore,
 Al though they had deferuyd moche more,
 The remenaunt is relecyd of thy grace :
 In heuen on hye assigned is theyr place !

CAPITULO XLI°.

How these sowles left scrip and burdon, entrynge in to heuene.

AND thus, reheryng this delectable song I sawe these pylgrymes passe within the corteyn,* theyr aungels goyng byfore. And of one thyng tooke I good reward, that al these forsayd pylgrymes leften withoute the corteyn bothe scrippe, and burdon. For good skyle it is as it semyd me, when that I hadde aperceyued it, that syth theyr labour and theyr iourney was fully adertermyned, and theyr vyage endyd, that they shold leue the habyte a fygne of trauaylours. And soo also soone as they were entred within, I herd another company within, forth that songen a song withouten comparyson more lusty than I had herd bifore. And though it passe my wytte, and myn abylete, for to counterfeten it in veray trouthe of lykelyhede, yet somewhat as I can sympelly reporten I shall it now rehersen.

THE ANGELS SONGE WITHIN HEUEN.

AL worshyp, Wysedom, Welthe, and Worthynesse,
 Al bounte, beaute, joye, and blysfulhede,
 Al honoure, vertu, and almyghtynesse,
 Al grace, and thankyng unto thy godhede,
 Fro whome al grace and mercy doth procede !
 Ay preyfed be thou, lord in Trynite,
 And euer honoured be thy mageste.

That by mankynde our nombre is encrecyd
 Of these that long haue ben in pylgremage ;
 And now is al theyr noious labour fecyd
 That was bygonne theyr fyrst dayes age ;
 Here is the porte of syker arryuage.
 Honoured be thou, worthy lord on hye !
 And welcome be ye to oure companye !

Now passyd ben youre peryllous auenture,
 And al youre trauayl hath an ende y take.
 Ryght welcome be ye, bleffyd creatures,
 Tyme is that scrip and burdon ye forfake !

* Cf. *ante*, Lib. I. Cap. IV.

For now ye that no lenger journey make.
And after labour tyme is of quyete,
Al heuynesse and anguifshe is foryete.

For ye haue done a noble vyctory,
And al your labour nobelly dispendyd,
That so ageyne youre treuble enemy
Yow seluen haue myghtely defendyd.
And that ye haue mysdone, it is amendyd
By sufferaunce of purgatory peyne.
Y thanked be thou, Jhesu, Souereyne !

In heuen blyffe here shal ye ben, with us,
Unto the day of fynal Jugement !
To which day ye shal abyden thus,
And preysen god with your hole entent,
Whyle that youre bodye by assignement
Of god, is torned to corrupcion,
And fully shal haue his purgacion.

For refon wylle, and also goddes lawe,
That he, whiche hath done al his besynesse
For goddes loue youre lustes to withdrawe,
Encombrynge now with moche unthriftynesse,
That fro that foul and woful wretchydnes
Hit purged be, and al renewed clene.
That maner wey your fleshe is that we mene.

Soo, at the last day, they shal aryse,
And come byfore the Juge souerayne
To yow conioyned in a wonder wyse
In good acord, withouten ony payne,
And in this ioye eternally remayne.
What ioye is here ye shalle assaye and see,
Honoured be thou lord in thy mageste !

CAPITULO XLII^o.

How an holy fowle was brought to blyffe with moche melodye of Angels.



N this poynt I herde, in that other fyde, comynge a lusty melodye of wonder
swete songe, and instrumentes sownyng. And I byhelde, and sawe where
come with grete solempnyte a pylgrym al vnlyke, more clere, and bryght

thynnyng than these other were, and was brought forth with an huge multitude of angels, eueryche hauing on hand somme lusty instrument, as Harp, Organs, Sawtry, and many moo of other whiche I knewe nought, ne couthe nought then descrynen. And so was he ledde among that companye, his own Aungel hauynge hym by the honde, that songe wonder lyke to this that I shalle now rehercen.

THE ANGELS SONGE.

HONOURED be thou, blysfyl lord Jhesu !
 And preyed must thou ben in euery place,
 So ful of myght, of mercy, and vertue,
 Of blyffe, of bounte, pyte, and of grace !
 Whoos honoure may no maner thyng deface.
 Who is it that withstanden may thy myght ?
 But seruen the of fors mote euery wyght.

Honoured be thou, Jhesu, heuen king !
 Thou hast bytake vnto my gouernaunce
 Suche one that hast aboue al other thyng
 Alowed the with lowely obeyfaunce,
 And loued the with fad perfeuerance,
 Thy counceyl, and thyn hye commandement
 Obseruynge, with his hertely hole entent.

He hath nought walked in the weyes large
 That to the fleshe soo lusty ben, and grene,
 But he hath ben ententyf to thy charge
 Fro dedely synne to kepe hym seluen clene,
 And gone the wey of trauayle, and of cene,
 Of penaunce, and of tribulacion,
 In greuous stormes of temptacion.

So hath he hadde in erthe his purgatorye,
 Whiche that he hath susteyned wylfully.
 Wherfor, now receyue hym to thy glorye,
 And take hym vp in to thy blyffe on hye
 With the to ben in ioye eternally ;
 In what degree that to hym is condygne,
 Ryght as thy seluen lyketh to affigne.

Honoured be thou, Jhesu gracious !
 Thou man bycome thy selfe, for mannes nede,
 And man thou taughtest to be vertuous,

To seruen the by verry loue and drede,
Rewardyng them with blyse for theyr mede
That done theyre deuoyre as they may, or can,
Now thanked be thou, Jhesu, god and man !

CAPITULO XLIII^o.

Here ben rehercyd the excepcions of Mercy, and the Jugement yeuen vpon synful sowles.

SOO thenne was this Pylgryme with grete solempnyte ledde sawe I nought where. But of al this ioye this curfyd Sathanas ne sawe no thyng at al, for he was fallen grouelynge gretynge and cryenge with a lothely voys, byholdyng doune in to erthe. Ful oftymes wysshed I that he neuer must arrise, ne shewe his foule face ; but soone after this, al other wise it befelle. For Justyce, that hadde me bitake my sorry fardelet, as I haue seyde, she steyh vppon the scaffold, and said in this wise : “ Cometh forth, ye creatures that hauen long abyden your Jugementes, and hereth your sentence : for many ther be of you for which Mysericord hath nought at al purchacyd, though soo that she hath here a chartre of pardonne generall graunted here of the Soueraigne lord !—in whiche Chartre is contyned an excepcion as touchyng dyuerse poyntes which ben these in specialle :

“ Al they, that wilfully and wyttyngly hauen contynued in synne to theyr lyues ende, pausen withoute hertely repentaunce.

“ And al tho that hauen been obstynate to the lawes of oure lord God, scornynge, blasfemyng, and despyfynge tho that lowely and sympelly obeyfaunt ben therto, and hauen nought amended theym with wylful repentaunce.

“ Alle tho that wylfully and wyttyngly breken Goddes heftes, dysclaundrynge tho that repentyn them therof.

“ Alle fals pilgrymes, that hauen leste the sharpe weye of penaunce, and vertue, and hauen gone by pathes of lustes, and of alle vnthryfty vyces, as been forsworn Wretchys Fals Renegates, Traytours, Mansleers, Morderers, Theues, Glotons, Conspyraoures ; and alle other that wylfully haue applyed them seluen to wycked synnes, that shalle nought been rehercyd. And al tho that haue sewyd theyr owne vycyous wylle, withdrawyng theyre hertes froo the wylle of oure lord god. Also alle Heretykes, and Scysmatikes, that presumptuously peruertyn hooly Scrypture by fals vnderstandyng, glosyng, cuttyng, koueryng, and cloutyng with vycyous adinuencyons the lawe of Crystes Gospel. And alle tho that hauen receyued ordre, offyce, or estate, to mayntene Crystes lawes, and they wretchydly, and cowardely, withdrewen theym to wordly lustes, nought doynge theyr deuoyre in shewyng and techyng the lawe of oure lord, ne in chaastyfynge of mysdoers, but only for couetyse of wordly goodes. And alle tho that suche estates, ordres, or offyce, yeuen or receyuen by symony, or suche vnloful menes, and nought to the entent to proufyte of theyr offyce, but only to be magnifyed and maad ryche, and for to lede theyr lyues in lustes and delyces. Alle thylke also, that vppon the tryste of mercy haue leyn in theyr lustes to theyr lyues ende, and hauen nought hadde veray

repentaunce of theyr fowle errour. And theſe and many other whiche that hauen theyr accouſours here redy beſydes theym, whiche ſhalle haue place and audyence to appelen them of many other poyntes in ſpecialle, whiche that ben exceptyd froo the pardon conteyned in this forſaid Chartre; for mercy hath for none ſuche purchacyd no pardon at al, the balaunce ſheweth the ſoothe." Soo thenne, by ordre they wente to the balaunce, theſe accouſours with theyr empechementes, but theyr pryſonners hadden nought for to leyen in that other parte. And though they ought hadde, it was of no weyght. Somme other alſo there were, for whoos parte was leyde the forſet with the treſoure.

And they anon were aſſigned with their fardels to gone to purgatorye ryght as I was. To alle the remenaunt after, Juſtyce ſentencyally ſeyd in this wyſe:—

"In the name of oure ſoueraigne lorde and Juge, Jheſu cryſte, goddes ſone omnypotent, by ſentence of Mychael, the prouoſte of Paradys, and lyeutenaunt of oure blyſful lord, goo, al ye condempnyd and foriuged to brenne withynne the fyre of Helle, withouten hope or truſte euer to be reluyd!

"And ferthermore I aſſigne yow to comen byfore the ſoueraigne Juge eſte ageyne, clothyd in youre curſyd bodyes, receywyng your ſynal Jugement, body and ſoule at ones, of endeles dampnacion. This day loke that ye kepe whanne Gabryell ſhalle blowen with his dredeful trompe. Hyeth yow faſte hennes as the Prouoſt yow hoteth, and commaundeth withoute ony taryenge!"

CAPITULO XLIIII.

Here Sathanas ſeaſed his pryſonners and byraſte them ſcrippe and burdon.

HENNE lyft hym vp this curſyd Sathanas, And byganne to crye, "Hyder, hyder, faſt cometh on with me, For alle to longe haue we taryed here abydyng this Jugement; and that me fore annoyeth!" Thenne come there dauncyng forth a lothely companye with fowle defourmed vyſages, and grifely of theyr perſonnes; they flouted, and they taberd; they yellyd, and they cryed, ioyinge in theyr maner, as ſemyd, by theyr ſemblaunt; but ſoothly vnto me, and other of my companye, hit was the moſt peyneful ioye, and the moſte encomberous melodye that euer I herde byfore.

Soo come they to theyr Pylgrymes, and ſayden to theym thus: "Caſteth awaye fro yow theſe ſcrippes, and theſe burdons, for of youre pylgrymage ye haue made an ende; youre wardeynes ben flowen theyr weyes, of them gette ye no more comforte; but we wyl done with you ryght as lyketh vs. Goo we faſt in to helle: there ſhal we fynde a warm duellynge place.

"Now, wepeth, yellyth, cryeth, brayeth, as beſyly as ye can; there is none other bote, and lete this be youre dyte and youre ſonge:

"Alas! the careful tyme that euer we were conceyued or in this World, y bore for to come to ſo moche ſorowe as we ben now to war. Now auayleth nought vs oure terys, ne our wepyng; for oute of this peynful meſchyef maye neuer be redempcion, ne no manere of comforte.'"

CAPITULO XLV°.

Here how wretchyd fowles ben defourmyd thorough dedely synne.

NOWE shalle I saye yowe, how this carful companye sodeynly was defourmed, that it was a gryfely syghte to beholde vppon theym. Somme of them were horned, as hoolys; somme of them tothyd as boores; somme, theyr eyen femyd hangyng vppon theyr chekes; somme hadden longe hoked clawes, lyke as they had ben lyons.* * * *

And whanne I sawe this horryble syghte, my herte tremblyd for drede, and I beganne ful pytously to beholde myn Aungel, to aske hym of this thyng. . Thenne sayd he to me in this maner wyse:—" A wondre huge grace hafte thou founden in oure lorde Jhesu Cryste, whanne he delyuered the froo this vnthriftie companye, that dampned is, and soo hydously defourmed by cause of theyr synnes. These that ben horned ben prowde men, and desdeynous, that settyn att nought al other men, and holdyth al other vnwyse, but only them seluen; and now for theyr fyers condicions of prowde auauncyng they ben caste a bak in to endeles dampnacion. These other whos eyen hangen doune vpon their chekes, that ben fuche caytyfs, that by enuyous loking and beholding on other mennes prosperite, euer had theyr ioye of other mennes meschyse, and payne of theyr welthes; wherfore theyr eyen be fallen oute of theyr hedes. What tyme that thou somtyme or this mettist with enuye, that loked asquynt, she enfourmed the plenerly of al her fowle condicion thou hast not yet foryeten. These other, that ben tothyd lyke to hydous bores, they haue be mansleers, and morderers, in wyll or in dede, wretched folke and irous, ful of venym, of rancour, and of hate, neyhe to whoos company no man maye endure by cause of their teeth, soo bytterly they byten. These that hauen theyr nayles hoked, and cotchyng, they be coueytous men, that euer ben besy by many dyuerse wyse by falshe, sleight, and by extorcion to gaderen to them seluen other mennes goodes; wherof enfourmed the couetyse when that thou mettist with her.* * * *

" Now byholde, and see with goode auysement vpon these folkes that thus ben defourmed, and loke where thou were fayre and semely, what tyme that thou were in fuche array, what tyme that thou passydest in thy pylgremage. 'What seye ye?' quod I, 'thenne I was neuer, as I trowe, of fuche facyon dyffygured in this wyse.' 'Soo foule,' quod myn Aungel, 'what is hit that thou seyft? what is hit thenne that thou beryft soo trussed in thy fardel? Caste a doune faste, for hit shal be vnbounden, and thou shalt wel wyte that I haue nought lyed of nought that I haue sayd.' " Anone he vntrussed my fardel, and soone was I taught that sooth was that he seyde.

For therynne sawe I greete hornes longe, hokyd nayles, and despytous sharpe teethe, and ynoughe of fuche other fylthe, the that shame is to rehercen; with whiche harnoyes

* See "Booke of the Pylgremage of Man," Appendix, p. xxxv, *et seqq.*

had I ben arrayed, as these other were, I hade ben as fowle, and paraenture fouler, than ony of them alle that I had sene byfore.

"A!" quod I to myne owne dere aungel, "mercy, lete me bynde agene this vnthrifty fardel, for I haue spoken folyly, by cause that I knewe nought my self. Grete foly it is, and huge disauantage that al these pilgrims, that passen by the world in thylyk dedely lyf, ne wylle not byholde, and euery daye befene their owne self in a good myrrour, soo that he myght voyden the fowle spottys, and wonderful defourmytees whiche he shold apperceyuen in his owne persone." "Ful soth it is," quod he, "that thou haft seyde me now, and wel I am remembryd when ther come some tyme to the a marchaunt with a myrrour,* whiche, when thou haddeft beholden, and sawest thyne owne fylthe, anone withouten more thou caste it ageyne in the panere." "I haue it wel in mynd," quod I, "and now hold I my self a wretche, and a caytyf, that I so soone forsoke it!" "Now here after," quod he, "for yete it nomore, but thynke how moche thou art holden to thy lord god, that of his grete grace hath thus lete bynde thy fylthe, and hyd it in thy fardel, that they maye be brente nought vpon thy persone, as these other wretches whiche thou haft sene before the, dampned in to helle."

CAPITULO XLVI°.

Here dampned fowles ben led to helle.

BUT now to my purpoos. These fowle fendes ledden these forfayd sowles with suche solempnyte as they ben woned to vsen toward the fyre of helle, the fely sowles wepyng, and them seluen yellyng with a carful melodye. Grete horror and heuynesse was it for to here. And so they departyd fro my fyght. I sawe nomore of them, saue only my Sathanas was euer abydyng me, beholding alwey what wey that I wold take. For wel had he herd my Jugement, wherof hym ne lyked neuer a dele at al. Soo at the laste, this fardel was trussed on my necke, my scrip and my burdon was ne bytake ageyne, and thenne myn aungel sayd to me thus: "Come on," quod he, "thou must to purgatory. I haue hadde for the in to this tyme grete heuynesse, and laboure; for thou woldest not be rewlyd after me whyle thou myghtest chese. But nowe myghte thou none other chese, but go there, as thou art assigned, in to the tyme of thy ful purgacion. Long tyme haue I be taryed fro the souerayne blyffe by cause of thy mys gouernaunce, for al though I haue presently before me the fyght of the souerayne fader, yet is my ioye in so moche dystracted that thou art not ther. Thou sholdest be on hye in ful felycyte."

Thenne Sathanas auancyd hym self byfore, thretyng me, and seyde: "withouten me thou ne shalt passen." And so alwey he wente, kepyng and costeyng after, as he durst, for drede of myn Aungel, to whome he wold not neyghen. But with ful heuy chere I neyghed to the fyre, whiche I sawe byfore me al black, and hydous, enflammed al aboute. But alweys it semyd transparaunt that I myght see thorough, as it had ben a glas. There sawe I also many other pylgryms, that suffred greuous tormentes of this brennyng fyr,

* See "Booke of the Pylgremage of Man," Appendix, p. xxxiv.

that was wonder sharp, as femyd me; for, therein was I caft with my wretchid fardel; wherof me lyked but lytel.

O swete crift! who is it that may bethynke or feye the tormentes, and the peynes, that I there suffred and that I fawe other also suffren in that fyre? there is no tonge may tellen, ne wryter descryue, ne none ere of man suffyseth for to here, ne herte to conceyue, ne vtterly to byleue it may no creature, but yf he had assayed as I and other dyde. In euery parte, and in euery side, the fire was hote brennyng within, and withoute, ne ther is no mortal creature that wolde suppose, or trowen, that ony fyre myght be half so hote. For sykerly, al this erdely fyre is but thyng depeyntyd in regard of that other, and that shal he conceyuen that hath bothe assayed. In this fyre I was abydyng ful longe, as me thoughte, about for to brenne this vnthriftly fardel, wherwith I myself also brente contynuelly. Hit femyd me sothely, that I was in that payne passyng a thousand yere. And ouer al my grete and greuouse peyns it dyspleyd me most in parte, the presence of this Sathanas, that alweye continually shewid me so vnthriftly semblaunt, that dyd me a grete discomfort, for fayne he wold haue neyed me yf he myght; yet it nedith noo thyng: for I felte ynowe of that that I suffred vpon myn owne persone, al withoute hym. And sothely to me ne myght he not neyhen, ne done none difese as to my owne propre persone, myn Angel alweye soo besily defended me fro his malice, and often tyme comfortid me, abiding euer before me, ful neye to my persone. And elles shold I nought as me semed neuer haue endured the tenth parte of the payne. And oftyme thus said he to me: "loo! now myght thou by this wel vnderstande, and see, how moche hit harmeth and annoyeth a pylgrym, for to leue the ryzt wey, and the trew path, that oure lord god hath shewed to pylgrymes, bothe in the olde lawe, and also newe late establyshed: in the newe, so that for as moche as thou hast erryd, and myf-went, now arte thou thus in peynes that greuen the I wote wel, wonderly fore: and soo thou hast ful ryghtwisly deserued. And noo doute had not the hye mercy of oure lord god sparid the, and forborne, thou haddest yet deseruid moche more.

"Wherefore, ne be thou nought dismayed; for when thou art full purged of thy fylthe, and dyscharged of thy fardel, soo that hit be wafted vtterly, and euery dele forbrent, thenne shalt thou be fynally deliuered oute of these peynes, after thy desire. For, wyte it wel, ful heuy is to me so long iourneyng out of my ioyeful felauthyp, and wonder fayne wold I be fro hennes. But soothly, sith I haue thus fer brought the on thy wey, I wyl not departe fro the tyl that thy self be purged, and thou go euen streyght with me in to the hye blyffe: for I abyde nought elles but only thy persone."*

* * * * *

CAPITULO LI°.

Why the fend trauallyeth for to destroyen sowles.



HENNE sayd I to myn Angel: "I am," quod I, " hugely abasshed of this cruel Sathanas, that so fowle grenneth vpon me, as it were thretynng me with more greuouse peynes, ne it suffyseth nought to his malyce the peynes that we

* The four following Chapters contain diffuse descriptions of Purgatory.

suffre. I wonder moche, and wold fayne wyte, yf he ought wynneth ther by, or may winne hereafter; and also I wold wyte yf he may thus endure within the fyre withoute hete or brennyng, as yow self dothe." "Soothly," quod he, "al the cure and besynesse that these Sathan doth for to greue pylgrymes is only of enuy; for he is wonder forowful that the place fro whiche he was cast out, is granted them. Therefore alweye he occupyeth his malyce to ben auengid, yf he myghte, ne neuer hath be ynough, ne neuer shalle, of suche malycious and curfyd occupacyon.

"For, vppon tho that ben dampned he besyeth hym contynuelly to tormente and dysese them. And no doute he wynneth nought theron, ne kepeth none other yeste, ne wyynyng, but that the wretchyd fowles be greuouly peyned. And wyteth wel, when he seeth ony pylgrym escapen, that he may nought tormenten hym, ne dysesen, he hath an huge forowe. And trowe thou nought that he is withoute torment and payne: for alwey withouten cessyng he is in the hote fire, contynuelly brennyng; ther is no parte of hym that nys with the fyre peyned, and tormented. The cause loo! is this: he is entatched with synne irremysyble, ne he may haue no redempcion, for as moche as he synned withouten suggestion of ony entycement of withoute, ageynst hym that was his fouerayne, almyghty lord of heuen. And by cause of his symplenes of nature he myght not be chaunged fro that fowle affection of pryde, and enuye. And duryng that fowle affection he myght not, ne neuer maye, ne shal here after to grace be reformed. But, for cause that man is of double nature, both he hath occasion of synne by his fleshely kynde, and also chaungeablyte of wyll, and of affection fro euyl to good, and fro good to euyl. And loke! what is his affection at the departyng of these two natures, the ghooft that is symple, ne may neuer forleten it. So, haddest thou departed fro thy body with affection of ony maner of synne, withouten repentaunce, and forthynkyng of thy rather forfet, no doute hit had ben impossible that euer thou sholdest haue be saued, but sholdest eternally haue ben felawe with the fende of helle. But, for as moche as the synne that thou hast done was by fals entycyng of the curfyd fende, by drawyng and inclynacion of the freel fleshe, and not by very malyce engyned of withynne;—therefore, whan the wyll chaungeth, the swete lord receyueth the to his grace. For why? he that is by another deceyued, by another he may be reformed; but he that wylfully deceyued hym self, who may hym releue of myschyf?"

CAPITULO LII.

The Sowle axeth why fowles ben dampned eternally, and the Angel answerith.

AND why," quod I, "ben they dampned to eternall payne that were so deceyued by the deuyl and by their owne fleshely febylyte? And why may they not be reluyd by other, which that by other were falsely begyled?" "For cause," quod he, "that they haue done wors, and in maner more ben to blame than the fend hym self. For why? Also sone as Sathan had synned he was confermyd in malyce by symplenes of his nature, ne he myght not be reformed by cause of his vnchangeablyte. But these that ben dampned, no doute they hadden lyberte of choys

and resonable space for to amende them. And yf the fende haue mysconceyfed them, they hadden also counceyll in that other side, which that descouered to them the venym and the malyce that was hyd in his fals suggestion. And skylful menes they hadde also, how they shold auoyden it, and plenly was it shewed them the meschyef, and the foly, with his counceyll; and in that other syde, the medeful reward, and excellent ioye, that was ordeyned for them that myztely withstandeth his suggestion. Some of them haue redde, and herd in scriptures, approued examples of many good pylgrymes, how they haue gone and wel acheued theyr iourney; but al this haue they set at nought, and better loued theyr enemy, that drewe them to myschyef, than theyr frendes, whiche that enforced to saue them ther fro. And soo they dyden euen contrary to that they hadde lerned. And notwithstandinge al that mysfouernaunce, when grace was profered them, and mercy of al that was myfdone, yf that they wold torne theyr fowle affection, they refused it, and wold nought therof. Wherefore I sey, and wel maye, that a creature that hath hadde good counceyll and vtterly refuseth it, is moche more to blame than he whiche neuer had counceyl, ne grace profered hym, after hys myfdede. Sythen thenne that these dampned soules haue ben euer adherent to the fendes counceyl, obstynat to grace, and rebelle to al good enformacion, with a peruerfed wil, and malicious herte, good skyle it is, that they with hym be peyned, and tormented endeles perdurable."

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CAPITULO LVII^o.

Here the soule neyhed to his dede body.



Of such maner thynges I sawe many mo than I haue tyme to telle in al a moneth space, though I nought elles dyd. And thus myn Angel ledde me al aboute, and shewed me, as I haue sayd, many wonder thynges, whiche I wold for no mannes word neuer haue beleuyd, lyuyng here in this mortal erthe, but yf I hadde sene hit and proued hit by myn experyence * * As me thought myn Aungel ledde me forthe, as though I shold entre in to the erthe, where I felte anone a wonder greuous stynke. And soo I stent a whyle for to byhold, and see what maner thyng hit was, that hadde suche a wykked fauour. Thenne sawe I lyggyng in a pleyne many dede bodyes, among the whiche I apperceyued myn owne bones, whiche I knewe ful wel. And of that same it was that I felt such a fowle sente. But notwithstandinge al this fowle fauour, I myght not ben in pees tyl I had with that body a speche, by cause of old falau-thyp. "Art thou there," quod I, "thou wretched body, soo horryble, and so fowle, stynkyng wormes mete, and noryshyng of corrupcion? where is now thy pryde, and thy fyers herte? in what lewed pleye were thou, and how hast thou lost al thy queyntyse? Sothly, as me semeth, I sawe neuer a fowler defourmed figure. And certes, wel is worthy! for I myght neuer haue ben fully venged vpon the; for while that thou and I were coupled to geders, thou madeft me to lede a ful vnthryfty lyf, and madeft me to lese many a dayes labour in foleyeng, and in tyme wastyng by crooked weyes; for thou

foughtest alwey thyne owne ese, and thyne owne plesaunce, and madest me languyshe with thy mys-gouernaunce, alwey contraryeng to that that shold haue ben to myn auauntage; wher by I was brought in ful grete dysese and heuynes, and hast made me ynowe to doo for many a day hereafter. But, yf the mercy of god abredg in distresse, but nought for thy, bleffid be his grace that hath me putte me in sykernes, oute of the perylle that thou haddest me brought ynne. And had nought ben that grace, I had be lost and dampned by thy purueaunce."

CAPITULO LVIII^o.*The body speketh to the sowle.*

THENNE lyft he vp a lytel his foule lothely vyfage, and beganne to opene his horrible mouthe, seyng in this wyse: "What seist thou?" quod he, "Euel comen be thou! that now begynnest thus to despyse me, that owest for to comforten me as moche as were in the. Ne thynkest thou nought that thou somtyme were mayster, and governour of my fleshe, and that thou shalt in that same fleshe come to jugement, at the general resurrexion of me, and of al other dede. Hast thou not vnderstanden here bifore the wordes of Ezechiel, that somtyme was here in the same feld, and in this same place, seyng in this wyse, 'the drye bones here ye the word of god,' att whiche voys euery bone went to other, ioynnyng them self in theyr propre places, and sewyngly the spyrites repayred to the bones, soo that they stoden vp, as men, in the same perones, ryght as they were byfore, withouten ony spot or vylonye? Wherfor, thou owest nought so fowle to despyse me, ne soo rudely for to blame me; for, sothly, this syght that Ezechiel sawe in spyryte, it shal be fulfilled at the day of Jugement, veryly and bodely, withouten ony doute. Therfor sholdest thou not soo shortely sette me at nought, for cause that I am now thus fowle deformed, and thus greuoufly tormentid amonges wormes and al fowle corrupcion. For thou hast better ryght to blame thy self, than to pleyne on me; for of al my fowle horribilite thy self art the cause. What reson hath the fyre to pleyne vpon the wode, whiche when hit hath caught, hit brenneth in to ashes? why shold these ashes be blamed, or rebuked for theyr vnthryfynesse?" "Noo cause," quod I, "of skyle hath no wyght for to blame the ashes; but bytwene the and me this maner of lykenes is not comparable." "Sothly," quod this body, "this lykenes is accordaunt. Vnderstandist thou not that when I was departid fro my moder wombe with me thou were? And after that tyme alweyes occupiedst me til I was thus vtterly wasted, and when thou fondest in me nomore for to waste, thou forsoke me, and leftest me lyke vnto ashes? And I suppose wel that yf thou haddest lefte me sodenly in my helthe, or els that thou haddest by vyolence be cast oute fro me, thenne woldest thou nought haue despyfed me as ashes, but parauenture called me black forbrent coles."

Ezekiel xxxvii.
1—14.

CAPITULO LIX°.

The sowle to the dede body.

PUTTE caas," quod I, "that al this were sothe: yet must I nedes blamen the, and forowen and compleynen that euer I come in thy companye; for I was in my nature as clere as is the pure element of fyre, withouten any corrupcion. And ryght as the fyre taketh smoke, and derkenesse of the mater to whiche he is conioyned, ryght soo toke I of the, what tyme that I approchid the, and medled with thy company, suche fowle derkenes and smoke whiche thou castest oute fro the, by thy foule, vnclene, and stynkyng vapours."

CAPITULO LX°.

The body to the sowle.

HUL wel," quod the body, "may I answere to this, thou were in me actyf as fire is in the wood, and I in to the passyf as woode is in the fyre. I ne myght not hyde myn humours in soo pryue place that thou ne soughtest them oute, and drofe them oute fro me, whether I wold or no, soo that I ne left nought myn humours by myn owne assent, but only compellyd for to suffre the to doo what the lyst, by as moche as thyne was the action, and I nought but aby l for to suffre, whether I wold, or no. Wherefore, yef hit so is that in the is ony fylthe, or vnclennes, infectid by my vapours, as thou bereft on hond, soothe it is, syth that thyne is the action in me, as in the mater that hast thou procured thy self, and on thy self is only the defeaute, I was bytaken the that thou sholdest me gouerne, and teche in the best wyse. My maister were thou ordeyned; and yf I haue disobeyed the, I trowe thou puttest on me but litel disciplyne wherby that I myght haue ben holden vnder subiection. What that I desired thou grauntedest me, and so moche thou entendest to my plesaunce, that I was encombred ful oftyme of our bothe ryote. So hadde thou, that sholdest haue ben souerayne, made me thy mayster, that sholde haue ben subget. Al that I haue desyred was but only of naturell inclinacion to the countre whiche I come of, that was this wretchid erthe. Wherefore in erthe I lye rotid, hauyng here my veray purgatory, but thou that art of that souerayne countre, and the noble werke of the hye Trynyte, thou sholdest haue drawe me to the with thy good gouernaunce after goddes lawe, to the countre which that thou come fro. Therefore was I betaken to be vnder thy reule, and thy gouernment. But, sothely, al otherwyse hast thou done, nought consentyng to myn vnrewly lustes, but moreouer ful oftymes thou hast excyted me to synne, and moche vnthryftynes, techyng me for to caste sleightes and cauteles, whiche that ne come me neuer of nature, ne but only by thy techyng I had neuer knowen them. And for to speke more propyrlly of my defeautes, thy seluen arte to blame as cause of euery dele; for withoute the myzt I not parforme no maner of desire, neither good, ne euyl. And ther that thou hast me cleped fowle, and stynkyng, yf thou reward to Reson, and wel auyse

thy self, of the come all my stynke; for wele thou wost, that of wexe, ne of matche that is clofe withynne, al be it hempe, or coton, ther cometh neuer stynke, but yf that it be fyrst enflammed with fyre, yf that this fyre be quenched, thenne cometh of this mater fowle smoke, and stynke. I aske the, thenne, that hast lerned of Aristotiles the causes of corrupcion, wherof cometh this wycked sauour, and smoke of the torteys when the fyre is oute? Whether is it of the matche, or only of the wax? sith it so is that neyther stynketh of theyr propre nature."

CAPITULO LXI°.

The fowle to the body.

SOTHELY," quod I, "as I vnderstande, that fowle vnholosome sauour cometh of the corrupcion whiche the fire hath caused in the torche, what tyme that the fire is withdrawen hym by vyolence, or elles in maner of compleynt he casteth oute foule vapours and smoke whiche ben, as it were, terys of wepyng, by cause of the harme that the fire hath done theryn in wastyng of his substaunce. And, as mefemyth, the more noble that the mater is, the fowler is the sauour when it is thus corrupt, as it is preued clerely by wax, that smelleth wors after it is quenched, than doth ony talowe."

CAPITULO LXII°.

The body to the fowle.

HIS answere," quod the body, "sufficeth to myn entente; for that thyng only that is corrupt, stynketh, and is of euil sauour; soo that bothe the waxe, and the matche, haue toke corrupcion only of that fyre that both alterate the mater, and appeyred hit, specially at the forletyng of that same mater. For why? thou hast no cause to repreue me by cause that I stynke; for in me hast thou ben as fyre in the wax, and me thou hast corruptyd and caused that I stynke; in as moche as thou hast thus forleten me, thou owest of right more to be blamed than I. And more cause haue I to compleyne on the, than thou hast on me. And semyth wel by the fowle sauour that thou felyst, whiche ascendith fro me, to the compleynyng of the corrupcion whiche that thou thy self hast caused in me. The stynke that thou felyst in me is nought elles but thyne owne synne. And I seye the ferthermore, that there ben many one lyeng on this place al hote, withouten ony corrupcion in theyr sepulture, wherof the cause is nought elles but that they were wel taught, and disciplyned, and kepte oute of synne, and gouerned in a ful gracious scole, vnder a full good and gracious mayster, that had them vnder gouernaunce. And yf thou haddest also holden me short, I had nought now so fowle be corrupt; for only by thy synnes it is that I am so lothely, and of so fowle sauour."

CAPITULO LXIII^o.

The fowle to the body.

HENNE said I thus, "Who that is put in a narowe sack, bounden fast without, he hath not the maystry, ne the gouernaunce of the sack, but the sack hath the maystry of hym whom that he holdeth so enclofid. Now this knowest thou wel, that holdest me enclosed within the, and keptest me ful derworthly, that I went nought fro the, ne that I myght not doo myn own plesauce; so that by the is it that I haue be let fro gracious gouernaunce, and thou art cause of my forfet and of al my foly."

CAPITULO LXIII^o.

The body to the fowle.

NOW quod that other, "now arguest thou folly; for thy refon is more to my purpos than it is to thyne. For he that is clofid in a sack hath more myght and power than hath the dede sack, that kepeth hym enclofid, namely, sith that the sack is of grete largesse, soo that his wyttes. mowe vsen theyr jugementes withouten ony lettyng. Sothly the sack it self may nought meue to, ne fro, but yf he that is sacked, meue hit of his owne myght. I haue ben nought els but, as it were, thy sack, whome thou hast caryed whyder that the lyst. Thou haddest within me large space ynowe, and al thy myght myghtest thou vse atte thyne owne plesance, soo that thou ne woldest nought departe, ne suffren thy sack for to be vnbounden, ne disclofid by thy wylle."

CAPITULO LXV^o.

The Angel endeth this parlement.

MYN Aungel thenne auanced hym before me, and said, "what, hast thou," quod he, "founden cause of Ryotyng? Hit is ful hye tyme that the discencion of you bothe stynte, and take an ende; for it is nought to youre hele auaylynge, bitwene tho suche maner of stryf and wordes shold be meuyed, whiche that ben perpetuelly dampned in to the payne of helle; but ye that ben predestynate to saluacion, and shal hereafter be reioyned as frendes, ye oweth nought for to stryue, but ye sholde ben of acord; and soo wylle I that ye be, and that ye soo departen."

Thenne my fowle body bigan to hold hym still, and spak no word. And I also held my pees, and wold no more seye, saue only that I bad hym adyeu; "And god graunte," quod I, "that I maye be with the hereafter in the souerayne ioie!"



Liber Quartus.

The Third Book gives long descriptions of the pains suffered in hell, and the Fourth Book begins with a very fanciful description called "the greene tree and the drye," containing a comparison between the fall of Adam and the Redemption of Christ.

Then follows an account "of two wonderful ymages one armed and the other naked whiche the fowle sawe."

CAPITULO XXIX°.

MANY fuche thynges tolde me this wyfe lady whiche I haue now to rehercen. Soo thenne wente we forthe, myn Aungel and I, and at the laft I faw before me a wonder machynament, and meruaylous ! Two ymages huge, of difparayl fourme, were fet in hyhe place, that one ymage was lyke to a lufly knyght fyttynge vppon horfback, fhewyng firft by manere of his contenance, and femyd al redy for to wage bataylle.

That other ymage was wonderfull, as I fhall fhewe hereafter. And nought ne wyft I what hit wold mene ; but as I asked of myn Aungel. Neuertheles, I me remembrid of the statua which Nabugodonoſor ſomtyme ſawe in his ſeueuenyng. And ſoo was this reſembled therto by text of the Scripture.

This ymage was huge of quantite, and gryfly to behold ; and had the hede of fyn gold, the armes and the breſte of clene pured ſyluer, the thyes of bras, the legges al of yren and of erthe. Thenne ganne I to behold toward myn Aungel, in purpoos to aſken hym what this ſygnifyed. " Full well," quod he, " haſt thou long tyme paſſid ſeen them, and redde in the book of Danyel, how that Nabugodonoſor ſomtyme laye thynkyng in his bedde, how that his Royamme and his peple myght be gouerned, treted, and demened, ſoo that it myght be to his own hertes reſte, and worſhyp to withouten. Soo was hit ſhewed hym in his ſlepe, of the lordes grace, by Interpretacion of the prophete Danyel, to knowe how that it ſtood for the tyme preſent, and hit ſhold ſtanden after his dayes ; how that his Reame ſhold be waſted, and deſtroyed, what ende it ſhold take, and in to whoos handes it ſhold bycome. The facione, and the fourme of this forſaid ymage haſt thou ſene thy ſelf, in this preſent ſtatua, and by the delaracion of the hooly prophete. Or this ymage ſignyfyed the ſame kynge Nabugodonoſor, whiche hadde an

heede of gold, to that ende that alle kynges, and emperours, and al that hauen estate of gouernaunce therof, sholden taken theyr ensamples to vsen good gouernment. Take good heede now, what I shalle seye to the, as I haue lerned and herd seyn byfore, this word statua, whiche that we transumen in to Englyshe, that is to mene an Image, hit cometh of this latyn word 'statuo:' that is as moch to seyn, as for to ordeyne, setten, or stablyshe a thyng to be nought remeuyd oute of his place, but for to standen stedfastly, alwey permanable. And therof ordynaunces of pryuate lawes in Reames and in comynaltees ben cleped 'statutes,' for they sholde be stablyly kepte, and obserued, euer withouten chaungyng.

"Hit was somtyme ordeyned, and establyshed to that ende that a kyng shold ben in remembraunce to alle tho that were his lyeges, that ther shold be made an Image also nyhe resemylyng to the kyng of the Countre, as ony crafty man couthe cast, or counterfeten; that, for as moche as the kyng myght nought in alle places be present, ne his persone myght come to the syght of comyn peple, they shold bihold that Image: by whiche syght they sholden be adred for to disobeyen, or rebellen ageynst the lawes. And this ymage shold representen the kynges estate to euery man's herte, as though he said to them in this maner wyse:—'Suche is your kyng, this is his land: beware! for he wylle be wroken of his enemyes, and tho that disobeyen hym.' And trewely, ful sothe it is, that the moste parte of kynges, and gouernours, that haue ben in oure dayes, ben lyke to the dede ymages, as to ony comforte or help of the peple, and trewe mayntenance of the iust lawes. They faren right as done weryels of ymages made of clothe, stopped with strawe, that holdith in his hand a bowe, bent to fere away the fowles oute of the corne; but, soothly, they sheten neuer shotte, ne they done none execucion vpon extorcioners, ne tyrauntes, that falsely oppresyn his peple, ne nought els he rewardeth, but only that his persone be mayntened myghtely in honour, and worshyp.

"And who that ought feith, or doth that therto repugneth, he nys but dethe's mete. But the wyse kyng Salamon, in his book Ecclesiasticus, writeth and faith ryght thus: the gouernaunce of the wyse man is euer ferme, and stable; suche as is the Juge, such ben his Jugementes; suche as is the kyng, eyther lord of the cyte, suche is the peple. An vnwyse kyng or gouernour, lesith his people; but by the wytte of a suffysaunt souerayne, the peple is saued, and defended. Wherefore, I seye, the werkes of a gouernour ben properly his 'statua,' or his ymage fourmed and depeynted to his lykenesse, by maner of his gouernaunce, whiche must nedes be open to al his peple, be it one, or other; ne he ne shalle nought ben of power be he neuer so myghty for to werne the peple jugen his ymage pryuely, amonges them, and for to descryuen to the vttermoost, be it good, or badde. Of this statua, or ymage it is, that men of hye power ben cleped 'men of estate,' for they standen alwey open to the people by maner of theyr gouernaunce, that they vsen better or werse. And euery persone of estate shold ryghtwyssly bere that name of estate, by stablenes of his gouernaunce. And yf he be nought stable, but varyaunt, and flytting fro veray stedfastnes, thenne bereth he the name of estate after 'statua'—that is an ydole, or an ymage, that nothyng auaieth. Of suche a persone or gouernour speketh the prophete Ysaye in repreuyng his vnthriftynesse, and

Eccclus. x. 1—3

seyth 'O paffor et ydolum domus Ifrael;' 'O thou wretchyd herd and fals feder of the hows Ifrael, that arte clothed with gold, and sette in huge arraye; alle folke the alouteth, and obeyeth, and thou arte veyne, and voyde of al maner of vertue, ryght as an Image that nought hath of manlyhede, but only of lykenesse, by maner of shap withouten.'

"Wherfore, fuche perfonen of eftate shold bere theyr name of ftabylnesse, and al that they fayde or dyde shold be of fuche delyberacion, that it myght be taken for autoryte of lawe, right as a statute, ordeyned and sette to rewle the peple. And, yf so be that a kynges wordes and werkes, be of fuche fadnes, and lawes keped ftably withoute ony cauyllacions, or fals fauoure of perfonen, or Couetyse of propre lucre,—thenne is thilk eftate trewely deryued of this latyn word 'fto,' that is to feyne, 'stand,' and ftably abide euer in one, by veray conftaunce of his free courage; and thenne is this ftatua able to be honoured, and dred of the peple. In this maner of ftabilite stood neuer Nabugodonofor, ne neuer had his ymage fuche honour, ne worship, but yf it were of Japers and flaterers. But, shortly for to fpeke, by the ftablenes of the statutes of a kyng, or prynce, wel kepte, and mayntened to gouernaunce of the peple, the gouernour is knowen, and in contynuel remembraunce many dayes after, and leueth, as it were, behynd hym a ftatua, or an ymage his allowable and fadde condicions. Wherfore, euery kyng and gouernoure, hath grete mater and caufe that their ftatua be foo well portreyed, by their good maners and fadnes of gouernaunce, that it may be loued, and honoured of the peple; for no doute he ftandeth in foo open place, that euery man full ofte cafteth to hym his eye, beholdyng thervpon, preifinge it, or blamyng in his herte, after that hym femeth he duely hath deferved.

"The Emperour Constantyn fomtyme faid in this wif, as touchyng this mater: 'In the more heyhe place of eftate that we ben fet amonges other men, the more clerely be we fene, and apperceiued of euery mans eye; wherfore all thyng that we feyen, or done, shold ben att al tymes good, and commendable, that noo repreef were founden therin.' This Constantyn by this maner of feyeng, fith he had foo hye eftate as Emperour, and cheef of the world, in temporel gouernaunce, he wold eftablishe foo hym feluen and his lawes, that no man fynde in hym noo manere of defeaute; but that euery wight preifed and bleffid, both hym, and his lawes.

"For why? euery good kyng is preifed by the exampler, figure, or ftatua of his good condicion, and knowen therby, ryght as a man is known by his vifage. And therfor, this haue I faid, and yet feye: that a kyng, or prynce, that hath a Reaume to rewle, and to gouerne, he may no better shewe hym self to his peple, ne putt him self in knowledge, than by his good and vertuous gouernement, by the whiche he fhall be honoured, and worshiped, either els by his euyll gouernement, be blamed, and difpreifed. If he be a Tyraunt he fhalle ben hated, and despifed; if he be lacheffe of his lawes, men will fcorne hym, as a dede ymage, that of nought ne feruyth."*

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* The next eight chapters contain "a defcription of this ymage in fpeciall," given by the "Angel."

CAPITULO XXXVIII^o.*Here he telleth of the Chaumpyon of liberalyte.*

F the knight," quod I, "that stondeth besydes this ymage yet haue ye seid me no thyng at al." "Ful sooth it is;" quod myn Aungel, "but ful soone I shalle seye the somewhat therof. There was somtyme a noble kynge that hyght Poeticus, of grete power, and wonder grete renoume. To this kynge by cause of his worshyp and also for his worthynesse, knowen into full ferre countrees, ther come knyghtes and soudyours of many dyuerse costes, for to see, worshyp, and also for to done hym seruyse, in what that hym nedid; supposyng therby for to geten honoure and fame, where that they shold come after. For why? soo grete and worthy name had this kyng neuer none had gretter sith the world bigan, soo that his loos and his fame spred euerywhere in to ferre countre, by long tyme withouten admenusyng, or lesyng ought of his renoume. Soo, after a grete whyle, there come to his Courte a knyght of a straunge countre, for to seken worship, for as moche as he had herd speke of the worthynes of this noble kynge. And as it happed, the tyme of his comyng there was no meyne walkyng ne steryng in the Court, ne no wyght founde whome to speken to, in spedynge of his purpoos. Soo walked he forth tyll he come to the entre of a lytel gardeyn, where he sawe syttyng vnder an ympe in an herber, a wonder fayre damoyfel, of passyng beaute, that ful bitterly wept, grete doel and pyte was hit to byholde. He salewed hyr goodly, and she welcomed hym ful connyngly, as she wel couthe. The knyght thenne asked of hyr, why she wepte so? But she wold nought tellen hym, but said it was for a thyng nought hym for to know; so left this knyght to aske ony more of that mater, but he enquiryed of hyr, where the kynge was. But thenne began she to wepe wel faster than byfore. 'Now worthy knyght,' quod she, 'I preye yow of youre gentilnes, and for the loue of god, yf ye lyst for to see hym abyde for to morowen, and thenne cometh, and ye shalle me fynden in this same place; and I ensure you feythfully, I shalle bryng yow to a place where ye shalle sene hym all youre hertes fylle.' Then sayd this knyght, 'I wylle, with ryght gode herte, doo by youre counceylle. But, paraenture, whan I am retorned I fynde yow nought here, ne knowe nought youre name, thenne sholde I hold my seluen as deceyued, and fayle of my purpoos.' 'I am,' quod she, 'by my ryght name clepid "Lyberalyte," and here shalle ye fynde me to morne at this tyme. Asketh of me now no moo demaundes, I praye you. I am soo full of sorow, and of heuynes, that I haue no herte to speke to yow, ne to doo yow suche chere as to youre estate bylongeth.' The knyght soo departid, and vpon the morowe he come thyder ageyne, right as he was assigned, this damoyfel was redy, and honestly receyued hym, and took hym by the hande, and soo ledde hym forthe in to the paleys, where the kyng was that tyme with full lytell meyny of nobleffe, or of worthy persones; but he found in his presence an old vnsemely one. I ne can nought calle hyr lady, ne wyl nought dishonoure the honeste of wymmen with so fowle a name as she semyd worthy. She was ryght fowle, disfigured with a lothely mouthe, whiche that fat

al a wry in ful difhoneft wife. This fame of whome I speke, pletid and held parlement ful vnwomanly bifore the kynges prefence, and bare hyr feluen boldely, right as ſhe were mayſtreſſe, and hadde alle the gouernement of the kyng, and his houſhold. What tyme that this worthy knyght ſawe this maner of doyng, he helde hym ſelf abaſhed, and demayed, and anone retourned hym withouten any ſpeche, ſeyeng to this damoyſell, whiche had brought hym there: 'What is this,' quod he, 'that I am comen to ſeken oute of ſo ferre countre? Sothly, I am deceyued, and that wonder foule, of this kyng that I haue now ſene; for I haue herd all otherwyſe ſpeken of his perſone, than I ſee at this tyme preſent, with myn eye. But ſeye me,' quod he, 'gentil damoiſell, what meneth al this? and what is this old one, that ſoo beſily pletith in the kynges prefence?' 'O!' quod this damoiſelle, 'my dere, gentil knyght, for theſe fame it is that I am thus in anguyſhe, and dyſefe; for I was woned to be loued of the kyng more than any other, and euer in his companye. And that tyme was he lyke to a lord, and euery man hym loued, and recommendid; thenne he hadde pryce, and renome, wel more than euer hadde Salamon. But now, alas! with ſorowfull herte, that I ſhall ought ſeye, other than worſhyp by hym that I haue founden ſoo noble a lord! For now hath he had newe counceylle, of folke newe comen, whiche haue brought hym fro bynethen the erthe this old one, that ye ſeeth, and dryuen me oute of his prefence.

"And ſoothe it is, he is ful wery of hyr, ſauynge that he dare not offende theſe counceylours, they ben ſo wonder wyſe, and ben as ful of eyen as euer was Argus, that had a thouſand eyen; the beeftes that ſeynt Johan ſawe, that were ſo full of eyen byfore and behynd ſawe not half ſo clerely. Wherefore hath he graunted, and eſtablyſhed, that alle thyng ordeyned and deuſed by theyr counceylle, ſhall be holde, and kepte of alle men, be they more, or leſſe. And ſothely, the kyng ne thynketh none other, as I ſuppoſe, but that all theyr ordynaunce is to his hye honoure, and worſhip. And yf he wyth the contrary, withouten doubte he wold not long ſuffre them; he wold rather dye; for wyte it wel, ſyre knyght, theyr ordynaunces whiche they maken, is to grete greuance, and oppreſſyng of the poure peple. Ful ſoothe it is that Pharao put the children of Iſrael in to grete ſeruage, and in to grete afflictions. But no wonder was it, for they were ſtraunge foreyners, nought of his propre peple. Wherefore, though that he put them in trauaile, and diſtreſſe, it was not moche merueyle, ne ſoo moch myſtoke hym not, as yf he hadde thus oppreſſyd his owne kyndely peple of his owne countre. But here is it otherwiſe. For nought only ſtraungeours, but alſo the kyndely borne men of this fame land, ben troubled, and dyſefed, by counceylle of theſe fals deceyuours. Soo they leden the kyng at theyr owne luſt, ryght as tutours and curatours, for to ordeyne and gouerne hym, ryght as he were to yonge within age, and couthe nought gouerne hym ſeluen.' 'But wote ye euer,' quod the knyght, 'yf the kyng take any grete auantage by theſe folkes gouernaunce?' 'Soothly,' quod this damoiſel, 'neuer a dele at al; but it torneth euen contrary. But they hauen the auantage, and he moche harme. Hit is wel ſeene in theyr howſes; for they hauen gold ynowe to bye, and purchace grete londes and rentes. They haue plente of jeweles, and of ſiluer veſſel; but the kyng hath nought wherof to paye for his mete, but of white ſtikkes that no thyng auailen; wherof

hit is grete pite for to knowe and here. Thus is the kyng of his people waryed, and curfid, soo that meschyef and mysfaunture mote nedes falle at the laste; bothe he and his Court torne to nought, and vterly be destroyed. For soothely, alle his trewe seruantes ben departid fro hym, for drede of the old deuel, that hath hym vnder hande. But whyle that he was woned to haue me in his company, and we lyued to geders in ioye, and gladnesse of herte, thenne was the kyng moche preysed, and worshypped in alle the world aboute. Wherefore, sithe I see this fowle, monstuous old one, brought in to his companye, for to fordone his noble Renome, and I am cast oute fro hym, to his grete dishonoure—no wonder though I dye for sorowe. And yet weyle I more the lesyng of the kynges worship, than of myn own dyfese; for he had more worshypp by me, than euer I had by hym, or may haue hereafter.'

"Thenne said the knyght: 'Now gentil damoyfel, cesse of thy wepyng; for wel I see that thou art to the kyng stedfast, and trewe, and louest hym hertely. But seye me, what wolt thou yeue me, yf I make thy pees, so that the kyng put away that foule, mysfarynge old one, and take the to his companye ageyne?' 'Certes,' quod she, 'ther shalle neuer be that day that ye shalle sayle of my loue. And yf I may els doo that may be to youre worship, and myn, I shalle hit done ful gladly, with all my dylygence.' 'Now, by seynt george,' quod this knyght, 'I shal speke to the kyng; I wol no longer tarye.' 'Syre kyng,' quod he, 'god yeue yow moche worshyp! With hugefull payne, and laboure, I am comen fro ful ferre countre, for to visite, and see youre Ryal estate, and for to honouren yow, after my symple power—for as moche as I haue herd speke of youre full excellent, and noble persone; of whiche the renome is spred in all the world about. Soo haue I, syth come in to youre land, founden the soothe, that ye ben full worshipfully gouerned with Justice in youre jugementes, and in your assyses al your offycers in the countre, done wel theyr deuoyre, that moche plesith my herte. Wherefore ye ben moche to preyse, and commende. But of another thyng haue I herd speke of sythe I come to countre, by which youre loos and worship moche empeyreth. I haue founden a damoifell fayre, and gracious, ne were nought here importable sorowes, that she maketh hyr teres, and hyr pytous wepynge, whiche ye were woned to cherisshen, and to loue, right as youre owne peramoure. And standyng so that she hath nought mystaken hyr, ne no thyng mysdone, but moche honour and worship haue ye had by hir, ye haue cast hyr oute, for an vnthrifty, and vnsemely tyraunt, whiche ye haue take in hyr stede; for whiche thyng al folke prayseth yow the lesse, and lesse wyll hereafter, whyle that she is with yow in companye. Wherefore, by my counceyll, casteth hyr fro yow, and take to yow that other, as it better bysemeth youre honourable persone, and also your worshypfull and Royall estate.' 'Fayr syre,' quod the kyng, 'ye speketh of a thyng wherof ye knoweth lytell. The Damoyfel, that ye speketh of, haue I not put away, ne taken this other: but my counceyll hath done hit, for my greete profite, and worshyp. I must nedes trowe my counceyll, and be gouerned after them, as euery kyng mote, yf he wyll fauen his honoure; soo that I nyl not cast away this olde, ne receyue the yong, but yf I doo it by the counceyll of them that brought me to that gouernaunce. But therto suppose I nought that they wyll

consenten.' 'And how wylle ye,' quod this knyght, 'suffren them thus bytrayen yow, withdrawynge youre worshyppe, and your fame, by sūche maner of gouernaunce?' 'I wote nought,' quod the kyng, 'but I byleue fully they done hit for my worshyp, and my profyte.' 'Soothly,' quod this knyght, 'and I shalle anone, right bfore yow, prouen the contrary, and shewen yow openly, that tho whiche yaue yow this counceyll, haue done aweye the worship of youre name; and falsely is it done, and traitourly, of whoso euer it be. And of trefon I appele them here in presence of you, and of alle youre baronage! And here I wage my gloue, to proue this vpon their persones, with my right hand. Make them to come in to youre presence; for I am redy for to take this bataille, be there neuer soo many; therfore wille I not spare. Soo moche I triste in the trowth of my quarell, and soo moche trefon I knowe in their persones! Soo that I wille not leue them, till I haue made them for to crye you mercy, and knowleche their trefon, that they haue falsely and wickedly put liberalite oute of youre presence, and brought in Couetyse. Wherefore, fire kyng, doth me right as touchynge this appele. For ye maye nought with worship werne me myn askyng, ye knoweth well you seluen.' 'Soothly,' quod the kyng, 'I graunt yow this bataill, for to be done in the playn ordeyned therfore, the eighte daye after this daye present.'

"'And I accepte this journeye,' quod the knyght, 'with ful gladde chere, al redy anone right in this same houre.' 'And I shal,' quod the kyng, 'sitten present as juge. And in this eighte dayes I enquire whiche of them alle is moost able to defende this quarel, and take hit on hand.' Soo thenne, at the eighte daye, the feld was arrayed; the kyng set in his tente redy for to see this bataylle. Forth cometh this knyght, ful thriftely armed, and entred the feld. And whan that the Heraudes hadde made theyr proclamacion, hym seluen of hye courage byganne to cryen and seyde:— 'Cometh forth, ye curfid traitours, that haue bytrayd youre lyege lord, youre kyng, byreuyng hym his good fame, and honourable loos. Cometh forthe! I defye you as fals and vntrewe! I shal shewen the trefon openly, whiche ye haue withyn yow pryuely counceyled. Cometh forth oute, and shewe yowre seluen present!' Soo this knyght abode a wonder long tyme, appelynge these traytours, but none was so bold, ne so hardy for to shewe hym selue: wherefore the peple that there was assembled, and had longe abyden, were annoyed gretely.

"The kyng thenne, syttyng in his tente abydyng this bataylle, lete cryen pees, that he myzt haue audyence to speke to this knyght. Soo was this knyght clepid to the kynges presence, and he vnhelmed hym, and come before the kyng, to whome the kyng said: 'Fayre fire,' quod he, 'I hold the for a worthy, and a valyaunt knyght, ful able to moche worshippe, and worthy for to bere the signe of knyghthode, and of worthynesse; for thou hast manfully purfewed thyn appele, and hast deserued victorie of thyne aduersaryes. And in as moche as they wol nought apperen, I deme them culpable. I wol neuer trusten them hereafter, but they shalle haue their peynes, as to sūche fals traitours belongeth. And the I yeue the worship of the felde, as thou hast wel deserued; and my self I abandoune to be gouerned after thy counceill. Wherefor make

come to me the damoifelle, for whome thou tooke this batail. And this other olde one, I will that she be voided as fast, withouten ony taryeng.'

"And so was the damoifel liberalite brought to the kynge, and that other put oute of his presence; by the which thyng the kynge recouered fuche honoure, and preifing of the peple, so that al folk loued hym entyerly, as they owed their lyege lord, with al their hoole hertes. And here myght thou see the courage and manfulhede of a good knyght. Here myght thou see the meschyef of vntrewe counceyll, that made this gentil Lyberalite prifond, and put oute of preefence, and cursid Couetise clepid in to Court, and coupled to soo hye a persone of estate as is the kynge hym selue. Caste, and ymagyne, euery man his luste. Worship and couetyse acordeth not to geders, but they ben euen contrary. Who that loueth that one, he voydeth that other, withouten ony doute. Now I seye the that this worthy kyng, for the grete courage of knyght-hode, and trewe counceyll, that he fond in this noble knyght, he lete grauen his ymage, and set it here in this open place, for to be had in contynuel remembraunce; and to that ende that euery kynge thereafter shold take enfample to kepen hym seluen fro vntrewe counceyll. And this is thyng wel knowen to all tho that dwellen nyhe the place, where this statua standeth here in open syght."

HERE ENDETH THE FOURTH BOOKE OF THE PYLGREMAGE
OF THE SOWLE.



Liber Quintus.

Here begynneth the fyfthe book.

CAPITULO I.

How the fowle was toke out of purgatory and led vp thorough the heuently speres toward the blisse.

AFTER this parlement of these two ymages, I retourne me ageyne to my fyrst purpoos. And, soothly, me semyd that wonder lytel or nought my peynes were abredged in all this mene tyme. And certeyne, yf it had be pleasaunt to grace dieu, me thought it had ben tyme that somwhat had ben lessid of my payne, and that I had ben brought to another more restfull place. And fykerly, after this, ful longe there I boode in my torment and payne that I suffred, soo that alwey it decrecyd by a litel and a litel. And soo long I there abode that I ne felte no more payne at al, and that my fardel was wasted and torned to nought, I sawe no more therof. Thenne semyd I to my self so lyght, that I bygan to flee withoute ony lettyng, and so sawe I in to heuene, whiche was thenne to me disclosid and open, so that I saw thenne the thynges whiche I haue before hand seyde were corteyned fro my sight, that is to seye, the hye prouost of heuene, seynt Mychael, sitting as Juge, and alle these other that shold make jugements of all dyuerse peples. The grete clernes that there was within, shynyng al aboute, made me haue so grete ioye, and comfort, that I ne felte no maner of dysese. Myn Angel oftyme flowe vp to that place, and oftyme retorned ayene, and badde me that I sholde a whyle abyde, and be of good chere; for within a lytel tyme I shold be brought in to hye heuene.

“Ful soone,” quod he, “shalle I lede the thyder, for I haue leue of the prouost, and alle his assessours, that there ben present with hym. For now ben Misericord, and Justyce accorded to geders; and soo ben as well Reson, Trouthe, and Equyte, withoute ageyne seyng; all they ben one, and of one wyll.” When I thus had abyden a whyle, and sene many thynges, that is to saye, the elementes, and al that was within, Angels also I sawe fleen to and fro, and Sathanas, ful besyly, by see and land, and in the eyer

abouen. I sawe hym ful ofte fle hyder and thyder, for to espye pylgrymes, by pathes, and by weyes. Soo, at the laste, myn Aungel took me by the hand, and syngynge, he said to me thus: "Now goo we vp in to that fouerayne Cyte, withouten more abydyng; for now ben ended the peynes, and tormentes, and fully adetermined. Now synge we, mounte we, fle we vpward, as fast as we may! for full nyhe is the ioye whiche that we abyden; we ben full nyhe to that reste that we haue longe desired, that neuer shalle failen, ne be ended!" And thus syngynge, he ledde me forth, and shewed me the fyrmament. But in this poynt I sawe grete foyson of byrdes, in euery siede aboute, that songe in the eyer, no thyng els seyng but euer "Jhesu! Jhesu!" withoute ony cessyng. "What may this be?" quod I to myn Angel, "where haue these byrdes lernyd thus to synge so redyly, and lustely to nempne this blyssful name Jhesu? It is grete ioye, and solace to here them, and for to see them also it is a plesaunt thyng." "Certes," quod myn Angel, "thou sholdest nought ben abashed, for thou hast sene them er this, but thou art not auysed therof, now at this tyme, ne hast bifore this tyme taken but litel hede of their swete songe; and that hath hyndered the gretely. And grete dole hit is when that mortal folk taketh none hede to theyr owne auantage. These ben the byrdes that god almyghty maad, to that entent, that mortal folke shold take theyr example, to done as they done. These ben cleped larkes, whiche that in latyn haue the name of preysing, and of worshyppynge, and ben cleped 'alaude,' nought withouten cause. For why? they ryfen, and mounten ferre fro the erthe, and spreyn theyr wynges, preysen god with theyr mery songe; and alle theyr disport and pley, is to syngen 'Jhesu.' And no byrd is in erthe whoos werke and occupacion is haluende so fayre. They ben the fygyre and the patron, by very lykelyhede, of the ioye of paradys of angels, and blessed spyrytes, that there contynuelly worshipen theyr creatoure, with grete reuerence, and honoure. And they also haue take ensample of contemplatif men, conuersaunt in erth, that hauen contynuelly Jhesu in theyr mouthe; therof they maken all their song and solace, spredde and extendyd with cryft on the crofs, by compassion of hert presyng hym alwey, withoute ony styntyng. And thus for to done, nought only morta lfolke, but alle thynges fourmed of god, counceyled the three children in danyels book. And Dauyd in the ende of his sawter clepith alle creatures for to preysen god. 'Preyseth god of heuene first ye blyssfull angels, for ye haue grettest cause. Preyseth god bothe sonne, and mone, sterres, and alle that yeueth lyght. Preysyth god, ye hyhe heuens, and waters that ben abouen in the fyrmament, preysith the name of the hyhe lord! for only his name is, and oweth for to be, exaltid, and presyd of alle creatures!' And wyte it wel, for sothe there is no thyng that it ne dothe his deuoyre, but only mortal man, whiche that is abouen alle creatures bounden moost therto. Soo, haddest thou somtyme soo done thy deuoyre, lyke to these larkes, thou haddest not soo longe be lette fro this ioye, but euer now here after this shalle be thyn occupacion, when thou arte in heuene. That shalle be ful hastely; goo we fast thyderward, for we ben loked after!"

Thus, thenne, myn Aungel ledde forthe, and shewed me the fyrmament, whiche with his tornynge aboute made a wonder Armonye, soo melodyous, and so full of swetesnes, that alle erthely Instrumentes that euer haue ben, or ben at this tyme ordeyned by

deuys of maystres of musyk, shold be sett at no reputacyon of hym that had herd that solace, and that myrthe. The cause of this melodye is the merueylous mouyng, and wonderfull tornyng of the spyeres, whiche I saw tornen, and wenden, eueriche within other, by contrarious mouyng, and by embelif, tornynge so swetely, they entercounted to geders in their circute about the erth, and alle other elementes, withouten ony tyme cessyng, or restyng. Two greete spyeres saw I tourne, that one within that other; in the Innermore of whiche, the sterres were fastned bryght, and clere shynynge, somme more, and somme lesse, as it lyketh to the souerayne maker. This nether spyere, after the wordes of tholome,* so contraryeth contynuelly the mouynge of that other, that in a honderd yere ne hyndereth a degree, fro there he was beforne. And thou shalt vnderstande, that in the hole compas of the spyere ben of such degrees thre honderd and sixty. Within this Innermost spyere, I sawe seuen other spyeres, moche lesse than these other two, of whiche seuen eueriche was lesse than other, as nedes must the lesse be conteyned within the more. And within eueryche of these speres, there was a Cercle, embelyfyng som what, and thwartyng the thycknes of the spyere; whiche Cercle clepeth the different. In the circumference of eueriche of these cercles, was sette a lytel Cercle, whoos compas ne passid nought the forsaide thyckenes; which Cercle is cleped of Astronomyens the Epicycle. This Epicycle was soo wonderful set vpon this difference, soo that it abood not euer in one poynt, but moued vpon this Cercle by ordre, and processe, fro place to place, about this forsaide different.

In eueriche of these Epycicles was fitched one of the seuene name couthe planetes, that ben cleped of clerkes sterres erratiks; saue only, that the sonne was withouten epycikle, fitched euer in circumference of his different. These epycicles beren aboute merueylously the bodyes of the planetes, somtyme forthward, somtyme backward; somtyme abouen, somtyme bynethen, so that who so hadde playnly sene the mouynge of them euerichone at ones, hym shold wel haue semyd, that they hadden played and made grete ioye, namely, for to here the merueylous melodye whiche that they maken in their mouynge. As I thus beheld this merueylous tornyng of these forsaide spyeres, that moch delyted me, myn Angel ledde me heyer; and abouen al these spyeres he shewed me a water, whiche that beclpypped them in compas al aboute. Soo clere it was, and pure in hit self, that nature shold haue ben abafshed in the beholdynge. For, as to my judgement, she made neuer suche an other. For clerely saw I through oute this water, alle thyng that I had sene byfore, bothe erthe, and see, and alle other elementes, with all these forsaide spyeres enclofid within. Forth passed we thenne, thorough another spyere, that semyd all of Cristall. And forthe I behelde, and sawe far abouen me, the prouost of heuen, whiche as me semed, I had sene bynethen; and there I sawe al the Court syttyng, with the same perones as is bifore seid, alle but Sathanas, and the peple abydyng judgement; for them ne sawe I nought.

“What maye this be deere Wardeyn?” quod I. “Me thynketh that I saw many yere ago this same prouost, syttyng in his assyses in another place, whyder ye hadde

* See Plate II, Coloured Drawing, and Note C.

brought me for to answere to Sathanas, myn aduersary, of myn olde errour." Thenne beganne this Aungel softely to smylen, and said in this wyse: "Hast thou nought mynde," quod he, "vpon the black corteyne that was drawen bytwene the and the prouost, what tyme that thou were abydyng thy jugement?" "Certes," quod I, "ful wel I remembre therby." Quod this angel, "thou muste vnderstanden that the fyrment was but as a corteyn, bytwene thy syght, and that thou seeft now presently. And moche more clerely shal thou sene hereafter, what tyme that thou arte passid somwhat. Ouermore, this corteyn semyd black, by cause of the syght that deceyued the, that so fowle was, infect with filth of thy synne. Also, it was nought well apertynent, that thou haddeft that tyme feyn ony thyng that shold haue gladed the, or caused ony ioye in thy herte. Ful sooth it is, that for a lytel moment that corteyn was withdrawen, to that ende that thou sholdest see how fowle thou were deceyued, that thou, thorough thy foly, haddeft lorne soo moche blyshe. If that this Court semyd the lowe at that tyme, and not here, on hye, as thou seeft now, in soothnes, yet was it not so in very trouthe; but this same place it was, that now thou seeft it inne. But to synful wretches this Court semeth lowe, and nyhe to theyr syght, for the more payne and drede that they shold haue therof. What tyme that thou were alowe at thy jugement, thou sawest this Court nyhe the, for as moche as thou haddeft deseruyd the dethe of endeles dampnacion; but now, thou art escaped by the grete grace that god hath done to the. The semyth that the Court hath chaunged his place; neuertheles, in sooth, hit is no thyng so, as thou shalt knowen clerely when thou art passed the corteyn, of whiche thou art now fulle nyhe. The entre, that is, the Crystallyn, that yett is not ouerpassed; this same hit is which that thou clepedst the Corteyn." "Sootehly," quod I, "foo am I surprysed of the Joye of this Countreye, that I not what to asken, ne wherof for to speke." "Seye, or aske," quod he, "what that the lyketh. The grete comforte, and solace, of this Countre, is so moche merueylous, and the perdurable ioyes so blyssfull, and glorious, that herte may not thynke, ne no tong telle. This is Jerusaleme, the noble, Royall Cyte; to whiche thou were excited for to trauallyn, somtyme in thy youthe. This is the ende of thy iourney, and the synall reste of alle thy pylgremage." Thus this Aungel talkynge to me, and ledynge me forth thorough the cristallyn, I come where he made me to behold, and loken al aboute. There sawe I soo grete lyght, and clerte, that it myghte not fall in no mans mynde fully to descryuen it. And though that the sonne were seven fyches clerer than it is now, it suffyceth nought to shewen hym self in prefence of that lyght, that was so excellent.

Ful sooth it is, that oure blyssful lord Jhesu said in his Gospel, that in his faders hous were many dyuerse mansiouns. And this found I veryly trewe; for this hows is chyef and pryncipalle of alle other howses. And to this hows all other ben subget, and seruantes, whether they wylle or noo. And for to vnderstande shortly the manere of this hows, the largenes therof may not be comprehended by thought of mannes wytte; for it is Infynyte. Now shal I seye yow of these mansions, and of the grete dwellyng places that ben in that noble Cyte, after my power, and after that I myght sene hit my self; for soothly, I sawe therof not the hondred part, ne no part proporcionable, as

to regard of alle the hole cyte. For why? this cyte is so large, that hit is endeles, bothe in lengthe, and brede; and of endeles thyng maye no proporcion be lymyed, ne accounted. And no doute the grete heuen, with the sterres, in regard of whiche, the erthe hath no proporcion sensible, that may ben assigned at certeyne, and yet it is nought endeles, ne infynyte, as clerkes knowen wel, ne may nought enclosen within it self soo many smalle pelotes, of the quantite of a small pese, as this noble cyte may enclosen within it seluen, of such worldes as we sene, and dwellen in, acountyng the world for as moche as is enclosid within the sterred heuene. And yet shold it semen neuer the fuller. For a thyng that is infynyte maye not be fulfilled. Wherefore, I may full well feyn, and affermen, that I ne sawe not the hondred parte of Royal habitacions that weren in that cyte. And euery habytacion yet femyd me as moche, and no doute wel more, than alle this wyde world.

But alle these forsaide mansions weere cleere, and transparaunt, soo that I myght sene clerely thorough oute them alle, as ferre as me lyst. These mansions so wonderly were disposid, that euerichone enuyronned and enclosid this world that we ben inne. The centre of the myddes of this Cyte, was oure lord hym seluen, fulfyllinge alle this huge, noble, and merueylous cyte; but the boundes, or the bordures of this cyte, ne mowe nought be founde. The beaute of this mansion ne maye no man telle, ne diffyne the ioye, and the grete arraye, the enhabitours of the places, the ordynaunce of theyr dwellyng, theyr ioyefull occupacion, the swote lusty smelle, the glorious disportes; the swete and lusty fownes, and delicious songes, maden alle heuynes fully to be forgotten, and for to conceyue a ioye, and a gladnes withouten ony ende, contynuelly, with grete reuerence, to worshipec, preyen, and honouren oure bleffid saueour! In the place next to this Crystallyn, was put this Comyn peple that come fro purgatory, and they contynuelly answered to them that songen aboue. Ful often was rehercyd this word "sanc-tus," and ful deuoutely songen aboue, and bynethen, there was ne tune of musik that ther was forgotten: the fayre dyapente, the swete Dyapason, and ofte, amonges other, the lusty Dyatefferon felle in theyr songes. And who that had herd the song that was among the Angels, by wonderfull entermellynge, and full swete accord, he myght wel haue saide that there was a feste, disparayle to alle festes that euer he sawe before. Thenne was seynt Poule, of whom that I had redde in his owne scripture, that he was rauysshid in to the thyrd heuene, and there he sawe secretes wherof he wold not speke, seyenge that no man ne owed, ne durst speke therof. And fayne I wold haue wyft whiche that he cleped the thyrdde heuene, sithe hit soo was that I sawe soo moche merueylous clerte and ioye, that ther is no creature in this erthely Regyon that myght thynken or conceyue soo moche as I saw.

2 Cor. xii. 2.

Thenne said me myn Aungel: "Of the Appostle paule, I saythe for certeyne, that he hath his heuen above, as many other seyntes haue; but he was rauysshid in to a full hyhe place, where that was shewed hym moche of goddes pryuytees, whiche that were shewed to none but to tho that were fully bylouyd; whiche pryuytees, were nought to be tolde to them that dwellen alowe in erthe, for they wold not byleuen hit. Soo sholde they neuer be the better thouz that it were told them. On that other side,

these priuitees were so grete, and merueilous, that he held hym self vnable and vnworthy to speken ought therof. And foothe hit is, that he ne myght nought seye hit; for hit passed his wytte. Thenne muste hit nedes passen the power of his speche. And also, no doute, euery man is holde for to kepen pryue the counceylle of his lord, but yf he haue commaundement, or leue, at the left for to telle hit forthe. But, in as moche as faynt powle was cleped of god a vessel of election, and shold ben excellent in the pryncipal merites, for which merytes he shold deserue the treuble Aureole, that is to sey for mayden hode, for prechyng of goddes lawe, and for martirdom, shedyng his bloode for the loue of Crist—therfore was he rauyshed through oute the two, in to the thirdd and hyst, that is martirdom. In the fyrst heuen of vyrgynte, that first is in worchyng, and first his deseruyd, he was taught in the lore that bylongeth to maydens, and also to them that ben maryed wherof he speketh in his Epystel to the Corynthes where he seith *De virginibus*. In the second, was shewed hym the fourme of Cristes feithe, and alle the hoole gospel, ryght as he shold prechen it after. Soo thus he seythe hym self, *notum vobis facio euangelium*, I make knowen to yow, to wyte, that the gospel prechid of me I had never of man, but only by reuelacion of oure lord Jhesu. In the thyrd heuen, was shewed hym the mede, and the reward, that he sholde receyue, yf he dyd his deuoyre, to that ende that he sholde be the more afterward, for to done his besynes in ful hope, and trust, for to receyuen that noble reward, whiche tonge maye not telle, ne herte thynke, ne no creature maye verly, ne worthyly, deserue, but only of the grete goodnes of our bleffid lord, as hym self seith: *non sunt condigne passionis huius temporis*, all the passionnes and peynes of his lyf ne ben nought condigne, ne euen worthy, to the ioye and blyffe, that shalle be shewed in vs. Now shall thou vnderstande, that what tyme faynt powle hadde ben ther abouen, and was retorned ageyne in to the world, he consydered and was wel auysed of these worldes that he sawe abouen in that blyffe, and said in this wise: *Regi seculorum*, to the kynge of worldes, immortall, and inuysyble, to hym only god, honoure, and glorye in the world of worldes!

Romans viii. 18.

1 Tim i. 17.

Psalme cxlv. 13.

“Holy chirche also seith, as oftymes as she prayeth god of helpe, or of grace, or dothe hym any worshippe, hit is nought foryete but that he seith euen in the ende that his regne dureth by worldes infynyte. And therof prophecied Dauid and sayd ryght thus: *Regnum tuum regnum omnium seculorum*, thy regne and thyn empire is the reame of alle worldes.” “Here nedeth hit,” quod I, “that thou me answere to a lytel doute whiche that I am inne. I here yow well speken here of many worldes, but in latyn the world hath twoo names; for it is cleped *seculum*, and hit is cleped also *mundus*; nought for thy it is not al one in clere vnderstandyng, though we, for defaute of langage, take one for another. For well I conceyue that *mundus* is the material world, but *seculum*, is taken for the enduryng of the world. Neuertheles, the competister in the Craft of the Kalendar, he cleped *seculum* the ‘tyme of an honderd yeere,’ and ye clepe *seculum* the world here abouen. What mene ye wold I wyte, by this equyocacion of that name?” “Sothly,” quod this Aungel, “he that made this compute, and the kalendre, ne saw neuer these worldes, only the world bynethen he saw, for his tyme supposyng that there were no moo, ne none other. And, for as moche

as mannes age passith but feld the place of an honderd yere, therefore, he cleped that space *seculum*, that is the tyme of duryng of a man's world; soo wold he thenne, by distribucion of many honderd yeres sewynge by succeffion, eueryche after other, shewen the pluralite of worldes: wherof the scripture maketh so ofte mencion. And ryght as the world bynethen is made of many honderd yeres, and so of many worldes whiche though the nombre be vnknownen to man, yet it is atermyned at a certeyne ende in the fytz of god; rizt so is this fouerayn world made of Infynyte, such hole worldes, withoute any nombre lymtyed euer to be endyd. So feith holy chirche, presyng oure lorde, that he regneth and shalle regne by worldes Infynyte. And that thou trowe me the better of this that I fey, what tyme that hooly chirche maketh mencion of the Trinite, in the vers *Gloria patri*, that ofte is reherced, he feith in this wyse: 'worship, and ioye, to the fader, sone, and holy ghoft, as was in the begynnyng, now, and euer shalle be, in to the world of worldes.' Ne it sufficeth not to setten this word *semper* that is 'euer,' but yf he adde therto in *secula seculorum* whiche wordes no man may conceyue, but yf he haue hoole vnderstandyng. For this word *semper* enclofith nomore but al the tymes of the world binethen, whiche shalle haue an ende: but by this word sewynge in *secula seculorum*, wherby is vnderstonde this world her aboue, that conteyneth suche worldes withoute nombre infynyte, that ne euer shall ben atermyned. Yet shall I seye the ferthermore: oure lorde god that in hym self is Infynyte, fythe that his grete power maye nought be comprehendyd, no doute his werkes ben infynyte also; so that none entendement ne may them vnderstande. For why? he werketh and maketh as many werkes as better ben made, than vnmade. And no doute there is noo good thyng vnmade, that he ne may make. And there is no good thyng that he may make, that he ne hath made, maketh now, or shal make hereafter. For he is the welle of all manere of goodnes; and he hym seluen is fouerayne bounte. Therfore, hit is conuenient that his goodnes be shewed and spred aboute among alle his creatures. He must nedes contynuelly flowen oute his bounte; for there is nothyng that may therof empeschen hym. How thenne durst ony wyght trowen, or supposen that he wold leuen his regne that is infinite, vngarnysed of his werkes, as a thyng deferte, and was as thyng that were forsake?

"But, fithe he is almyghty that he wolde anone fulfille hit with his creatures; for hit is wel syttyng to eueryche that may doo wel, that he sholde doo hit, wherof he may nought faile that may doo what he wylle. Wherfore, when thou hereft speken of worldes infynyte, ne be thou nought abasshed; for, sith hym seluen is infynyte, his werkes must of reson be endeles; for he maye nought be voyde, ne ydell for to werken thynges that ben profitable, belongyng to his worship."

CAPITULO II^o.

The sowle axeth a question of the mansjons of heuene.

SYTH ye haue," quod I, "said me thus moche, yet wyll I asken a lytell what more, yf hit lyke yow for to seye me, of that I couete to knowe. Of these worldes, and these wonder mansjons, in whiche the seyntes of heuen dwellyn, somewhat I see, but fayne wold I yet knowe a lytel what more, for to vnderstande better that I haue herd before." "O swete god," quod he, "what seist thou? hast thou not lyued in erthe more than fourty wynter? and yet, for al thy peyne and besynes that thou haste put to lernynge, with labour of thy wyttes, yet knowest thou but lytel of the world in regard of alle! And now thou arte comen hyder thou woldest knowe anon al that there is merueylous, ordynaunces that ben withoute nombre; but, certes, that shalt thou neuer knowe in to the tyme that thou haue beholde in the mirrour of the souerayne deyte, that is god hym seluen, wherin thou shalt see clerely all that thou canst desire. I see nought but that I will gladly telle thee somme thynges in speciall, of whiche thou hast moost desire to knowe. For yf I shold speke of all, I shold neuer make an ende. So saye me thenne wherof thou hast lieuest for to here." "Of eyghte worldes," quod I, "wherof thre ben coronwed with flowres of disparayle kynde and coloure eueryche fro other; herof wold I here tydyng with right grete desire. One of them is coronwed with faire rede rofys, that other with rodys, and the thyrd with lusty prymerofys and lylyes entermellyd, and graciously arrayed. Of these thre worldes, and of the other fyve, I hadde leuer here speke, than ony thyng elles, for cause of the grete Joye that I see therynne. Ther is none herte that he ne must be rauyshed with the desire of soo hyhe, and excellent gladnes of this rial cyte, whiche that I am ynne, thanked be the lord of his grace!" *

CAPITULO V^o.

Of the eyghte mancion, that is of the godhede.

HE eyghte worlde, whiche thou seest hyhest of alle, theryn sytteth the hyghe kyng, and in myddes therof is sette his royal throne, that is wondre precious, and ful clere polyshed. And it is full lyke to the sonne, but his was moche more reede, and also moche more shynynge bryghter in it seluen.

"There he yeueth his blefsynge in euery parte aboute, to them that hym seruen, and obeyen, as to their souerayne lord. Abouten hym is that ioye with whiche he is coronwed, more lusty and fayre hit myght nought be deuyfed. And this corowne is ful fowen of precious stones ful bryght shynynge, of merueylous beaute.

* Chapters III. and IV. contain detailed descriptions of the "seven coronwed mansjons," and of their occupation by fainys, martyrs, &c.

“ Among the whiche ben sette, wonder subtylly, sterres of huge light, wonderfully sparkelyng, and castyng oute bemes of huge bryghtynes, and passing clerte.”

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In this poynte I ganne to byhold in to the hyhe heuene, that euerydele shyned as bryght bornyshed gold. And there I sawe a merueylous cerkle, of syngulere gretnesse, conteynyng within it self wonder grete space, and a full circuite hit made, the gretenes therof ne couthe I not gesse, nor acounte.

This Cercle entred in to that one side of that golden heuen, and come oute in that other, in maner of a Reynbowe. This Cercle in his bordure was, as me semyd, of mesurable brede of coloure, saphyryn, and was redyly lynyed by ordre, and set full of sterres, wonder bryght shynyng, and clerely flammyng, whiche were sette by thyrty, and by thyrty, in fuche a maner wyse, that in euery thyrty was sette a grete sonne, as me semyd, as large as the bordure of this Cercle.

Abouen this Cercle Aungels songen, and maden moche melodye with many dyuerse instrumentes, that yf ther had be herd fuche a songe in erthe, I suppose that the stones sholde nought haue kept them fro syngyng, for the passaunt ioye. There nys thyng in erthe that ne wold haue hasted thyder, and have receyued lyf by meuyng of this forsaide cercle, different soo mesurably it torneth aboute. These forsaide Aungels ledden thre spirites whiche were coroned with gold, and clothed to the foote, of reed bloody purple, gyrd with ceyntes of gold, wonder bryght shynyng, within this golden heuen they entred. And in a litel while they comen oute ageyne; and all these other sayntes oute of their manscions assembled them, redy for to mete with them. And soo they wenten aboute enuyronnyng the heuene, and syngyng besily, and said in this wise:— “ Blessid bee thou, lord, oure god, and oure souerayne god, Jhesu goddes sone, that bought vs with thy blood! that so honourest oure felauship, for the good dedes of whiche we ben partyners of thy souerayn grace.” Thenne I bethought me vpon the byrdes as thrushes, and thrustels, and stares, which I haue sene syttyng in assemble vpon an hie tre, in a clere day, syngyng so swetely and preising the lord, that is hyr creatour! Ryght so dyde alle these sayntes, ful besily, honouryng and preysyng the souerayne lord aboue, ful mekely and deuoutely ioynyng theyr handes.

CAPITULO VI.

Of the kalender of heuene.



DERE Aungel,” quod I, “ seye me, I byseke yow, teche me somewhat of the yonder Cercle, and also of that solempne fest, whether that it endure in fuche solempnyte.” “ Thou wotest well that the chirche militant,” quod he, “ that laboureth here in erthe, hath in comyn vsage for to holden oftymes solempne festes, somme more, and somme lesse, after the tyme and dygnyte bylongyng therto, and after the worthynesse of the sayntes for whiche they ben holden: eyther els, for somme specialte of seruyce that they owen to them, as knyghtes to seynt George; Goldmythes to seynt Dunstone; and soo forthe, of other; thenne to that ende, that no defaute be

ne the tymes foryete, ne falle oute of mynde, att whiche tymes suche feestes shold be holde they ben wryten in a kalender, eueriche in theyr ordre, as the yere falleth. Now is it so, that this chirche mylytant, enforceth for to fewen, and counterfeten, as moche as he may, the hye chirche aboue. For wel she wote, and vnderstandeth, that fro thennes she come, and there she bygan, as the doughter comyng fro the moder. Loo ! thus seyth seynt Johan, ' I sawe,' saith he, ' the cyte of Jerusalem, descendyng newe fro heuen ! ' And yf thou knewe clerely, or vnderstood this thyng, thou sholdest wel wyte what it is that thou hast sene, here aboue, and that it is the exampler, and the patron of this cercle aboue.

" This Cercle aboue that thou seest, is the kalender ; whiche, with the tornyng aboue, sheweth the dayes of the sayntes, what tyme they shall solempnyse theyr festes. Euery yere this cercle maketh a torne aboute ; euery sterre standeth for a day ; and euery sonne for the space of thyrty dayes, whiche is cleped a monethe.

" But thou shalt vnderstande the mesuryng of these dayes after the mouyng of the materiall sonne, and sterred heuen byneth ; for we taken for a general rewle, that these ben none alternementes of dayes, neyther of monethes ; but one contynuell day that neuer shalle ben ended, alweyes, that other may be had parfyte remembraunce of alle these that haue put payne and laboure, to louen oure lord god, as some hauen for his loue shed all theyr blood, and somme in otherwyse suffred grete dysese, the dayes of theyr obitus, in whiche they yelden theyr ghooftes, ben marked in this present kalendre. The sterres that standen, as I haue sayd the, in stede of the dayes, haue suche an ordynance as I shal here telle the. The day byfore the feste that shall be solempnyfed, the sterre sheweth hym self, castyng a beme of ful grete clarte to the same saynt of whome shalle be the fest, for to make this feste the more notably to be knowen to all. Thenne cometh the angel of that same seynt, of whome shalle be the fest, with moche multitude of other Angels, to the forsaïd thynyng sterre, syngyng, and makyng moche melodye, and bryngyng with them this forsaïd saynt, and presentyng before the mageste, ryght as thou hast sene here, thre clothed in purple, and corouned with gold, whiche entred within the golden heuene. These thre ben thre noble marters, that myghtely stoden for the feythe of Cryft. That one is saynt Laurence, whiche that now the day of his feste is brought byfore our bleffid lord. These other two ben seynt Steuen, and seynt Vyncent, whiche that were in erthe of the same ordre of dekene. These gone forth with hym for to doo hym honoure byfore the hyhe lord. There is before oure lord now made an huge assemble of moche multitude of sayntes, that ben comen for to see this grete solempnyte, and for to amplye this feste with ioye, and with preysyng of god. Right soo after them, by tornyng of this Cercle, cometh forth other sayntes in the same wise, eueriche after other, as theyr dayes fallen, for to holde also their solempne festes. For this maner of doying ne stynteth no tyme, that here nys a feste ; neuer the later nought all y lyke ryall, but somme ben holden more solempne than some, after the merites of them for whome they ben ; but alweyes lytel feste sawe. I neuer here, but alle grete, and ryall. And yet I seye the more, there is holden a ful ryall and solempne feest of Mychael the prouost, and alle his companye of angels, in

remembraunce how he chacid lucifer fro hens in to helle. And also in honoure of alle these orders, and Ierarchyes of these hooly Aungels, they doubleth these feste, and sheweth them seluen before oure lord god, preysynge and worshyppynge, with grete solempnyte. Also in the feste of al halowen, every saynt in this cirkle taketh his owne place, as it is ordeyned them of god. There is the grete assemble of his honourable Court gadred to geders. A wonder thyng to tellen of the ioye and myrthe of the swete songes, and of the lusty Instrumentes, sounynge ful delyciously."

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CAPITULO VIII°.

How the Angels recordyd theyr songes ageynst the comynge of oure lord.

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WHEN it was come to the tyme that this plaunte was woxen, and shewyd hym self openly to the world al clene aboute the erthe, the Angels that nought elles dyde no longe tyme hadden doo but abydyng this feste, recordynge theyr songes and theyr ioyeful armonye, and hadden longe tyme boren naked swerdes to warden the entre of paradys and forth do vengeance vpon wretchyd synners: anone they putten vp theyr wepen, Cherubyn forthmost of alle, and taken theyr Instrumentes, and bygonne to pleyen soo delyciously that heuen bygan to laughe of the newe ioye that there was begonne.*

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CAPITULO XIII°.

The songe of Aungels on Estern day.

HONoured be thou, Jhesu saueoure,
That for mankynd were done vpon the rode!
And therto woldest done vs that honoure
To fede vs with thy fleshe, and blood.
Was neuer feste vnto vs half so good:
For wonderly oure ioyes doth renewe.
Euer heryed be thou, blyssfull lord Jhesu!

When thou were dede, to helle thou descendyd
And fette them oute that lyen there in peyne.
For by thy deth oure mys is amendyd;
The thyrd day thou roos to lyf ageyne
With hyhe tryumphe, and ioye fouereyne,

* The intermediate chapters contain "The songe of the natyuyte of oure lady;" "the feste of the Annunciacion of oure lady;" "of the purification;" "the song on the twelue day;" and "the causes why the sonne entred the signe of Cancer."

As Champyon of wonder hye vertue.
Honoured be thou, blysfyl lord Jhesu !

On thurfday thou a noble foper made,
When thou ordeyned fyrft thy facrament ;
But moche more it dothe oure hertes glade
The dyner of this noble day present,
In whiche thou shewed thy self omnypotent,
Rysfng fro deth to lyf, it is full trewe.
Honoured be thou, blysfyl lord Jhesu !

The greuouſ iourney that thou toke on hand,
Hath clerely made to euery wyght appere
In soothfaſtnes to ſee, and vnderſtande,
That only was thy talent, and thy chere.
So ſuffyſaunt, loo, that oure raunſon were
Superhaboundaunt, ouer that was due.
Honoured be thou, blyſfull lord Jhesu !

Now for this feſte ſhalle we ſeyen the graces,
As worthy is, with all oure dyligence,
And thanken the here, and in all places,
Of thy full bounteuouſ benyuolence,
Thy myght, thy grace, thy ſouerayne excellence.
Thou art the welle, and ground of vertu.
Honoured be thou, bliſfull lord Jhesu !

* * * * *

“ Thus moche haue I faid of the glorious feſte of reſurection. But yet haue I for to ſpeke of that other feſte, that alſo bylongeth to the ſygne of Cancer, in whiche Criſte retourned to his blyſſe. At the days of holy Aſcenſion the Angels of heuen beſeyen them in theyre array, for to meten with this bleſſid lord, and to conueyen hym vp in to his faders preſence. Of the Royalte of this feſte hit is ful hard to ony creature to maken declaracion. For, no doubt, the eyer was ſoo fulfilled with Aungels, and eueryche in hyr places, to abydyng the comyng of this glorious lord, with ſoo moche ioye, and huge melodye, that who ſo had comen amonges them, he ſhold fully haue trowed that there had ben none other heuene ; eyther els, that heuen had ben tranſlated in to that ſame place. No doute but many a legyon wenten to the foote of Olyuet, ordeynnyng theyr proceſſion to bryng hym therupon ; and there were aſſembled ayenſt hym, al that compaye whiche that he had taken oute of helle ; and, amonges other, the theef that deyde, before hym come ful deuoutely, and thanked hym of his grete mercy. Thenne faid this glorious lord to them in this wyſe :— ‘ Cometh, dere chyldre, cometh on with me in to my ioye ! for tyme is that I preſent to my fader the proye that I haue toke oute of

the payne of helle. Ful dere haue I bought yow, and yet I hold me content with my iourneye.' Soo goothe he forthe with his belouyd disciples, this companye sewyng hym, in to the mount of Olyuete. And there he took his leue of his moder, and of alle his other disciples, and wente his weye vp in to his blyffe, affignyng his company, euerych in to his place, after that they had duely deferuyd in erthe. So was he receyued in to the hyhe throne of his faders mageste, with hyhe solempnyte, and to a veray fulfilling of this ryall passage; yet many of these Angels abyden behynde. Yf ony man wol axe, what lord it myght be that went in suche array, of soo moche multitude of peple, they myght answere and seye, as the soothe was. In witnes of whiche thyng two were sene openly clothed, in whiche that he seyde to the Apostles in herynge of other, 'ye people of galylee (that by interpretacion ben cleped people of passage,) why wonder ye so moche, lokynge in to heuene? For douteth it nought, ye shalle see hym come doune to the fynall Jugement, in as grete array of gretter than he goth hens now. And therfore, fyth that ye ben here but pylgrymes, and peple of passage, arrayeth yow ageynste that tyme, that ye may be redy when that he retourneth to his blyffe, to passen in his company.'

"Loo! this is the feste, and the hyhe solempnyte of Crystes ascension in the sygne of Cancer. But of the sygne of pyfces yet haue I for to feyn; for after this the Apostles whiche many of them were fyfshers were fulfilled with the holy ghooft, these were the fyfshers whiche that Cryst found in this worldly see, and took them with the nette of his grace: whiche fishes he putte in the stewe of his loued Chirche, where they haue spawned and multiplyed soo hyely, that alle the wyde world is fulfilled with the fruite of theyr good labour. The feste of these fishers is halden in this wyse:—ther was made in heuen a wonder fowne, and sodenly was sente doune the hooly ghooft in semblaunce of fryr tonges: these tonges were taken them as for their pryncipal Instrument for to fyfshen with. For Cryste found them as fyfshers, and made of them his fyfshers; and este made them fyfshers, and sente them for to fyfsh this wyde worldly see. In this feste al the holy Apostles comen vnder this Cercle, and ben presentyd forthe byfore the hooly trynyte, with huge songe and melodye, and hooly sayntes sewyn theyr assemble, syngyng, and seyeng in this wyse:—

"Honoured be thou, hooly ghooft on hye!
That vnto a people of soo poure estate
Hast yeuen that grace, to stande myghtely
Ageyne tyrauntes fyers, and obftynate;
For to subdue them to thy pryncipate,
To leue theyr errour, and theyr lyf amende.
Euer heryed be thou, lord, withouten ende!

Thou yafe them wytte, and connyng for to preche,
And courage, for to standen by the lawe,
Al maner folkes for to wyfse, and teche
Fro vyces alle theyr lustes to withdrawe,

And of theyre lord and god to stande in awen ;
To thy plesauce theyr hertes to entende.
Honoured be thou, lord, withouten ende !

This fyfishers auoyded ben of flouthe ;
For blandyslyng, for manace, ne for drede
They spared not, but stoden by the trouthe.
Of payne, and torment, took they none hede,
But fayne to see theyr hede and sides blede,
Ful myghtely thy lawes to defende.
Honoured be thou, lord, withouten ende !

* * * "In presence of the hyhe Trynyte thou shalt for euer abyde ; therfor, when thou comest thyder, and art of his hye grace benygne receyued, thanke hym of all thy hert ! The prouost also, when I shall bitake the, thou must thanke with full lowely chere : for I shall anone goo to hym, and ordeyne for thy comyng. And oftymes wille I come and visite the, and shewe the diuerse fightes, wherof thou shalt ful hugely merueilen. And so shalt thou ioyefully abide the general resurection, when thou shalt estones receyue thy body, and ben to hym ayeneward conioined, and withouten ende ioyefully lede your lif to geders." And euen with this word this Angel flewe his weye vp in to heuene ! And, as I loked after hym, a wonder huge light descendid fro the hye heuen, smyting on myn eyen, soo that it made me for to opene them, after that they hadde long tyme ben clofid in slepyng. Soo thenne I awoke, and found my self lyeng in my bedde, wherof I was ful fory that I was so soone departid fro so mochel ioye, as I was nyhe to ward, as me thought, after so moche payne, and in heuiness whiche I had lyued, so many thousand yeres, as me semed. And by this tyme the Horologe had fully performed half his nyghtes cours, shewyng that the sonne was comen to the Angle of the erthe, and hastyd hym vpward toward the east oryson, to brynge ageyne the day. And sodenly the belle gan sowne the hour of mydnyght. And I me remembryd that I had not yet slepte fully thre houres. Now, Jhesu, yeue me grace for to comen to the trouthe of this blysshe, wherof I haue dremed, soo that I may here deseruen for to haue it, porfytyly withouten ende ! And soo he doo to alle tho that goodly, and benyngly expownen myn auenturous dreame, and goodly correcten, where that it nedeth oughte to adden, or withdrawen.

Here endeth the dreame of pylgremage of the soule, translatid oute of Frenshe in to Englyshe, with somewhat of addicions. The yere of our lord M. CCCC and thyrtyn, and endeth in the Vigyle of seynt Bartholomew. [23 August.]

EMPRYNTED AT WESTMESTRE BY WILLIAM CAXTON AND FYNYSSED THE SIXTH
DAY OF JUYN THE YERE OF OUR LORD M. CCCC. LXXXIII AND
THE FIRST YERE OF THE REGNE OF KYNGE
EDWARD THE FYFTE.



T the end of the MS. Egerton, 615, which is likewise a translation of the "Pélerinage de l'Ame," and from which our coloured drawings are taken (but which is unfortunately imperfect at the beginning), the following curious passage is added to the text:—

"Now, Jhesu, gife me grace to come to the trowthe of this blisse, which as me thought I had be inne, be semyng of my dreem; so that I may here deserue to haue it parfightly wt owt ende; And so he do alle tho that benyngly expowne myn Auentures Dreem, and goodly correcte it, where that it nedith owght to amende, or withdrawe; For yere may no thing be approvid, ne affermed, but if it be founde in the feith be aduysment of kunnyng clerkes. Wherefore if owt in this processe be founde vntrewe, wite it my swevene, and so beseke I alle that shal rede it, or here. *Here endith the dreem of the pylgrimage of the soule translated out of frensch in to Englysch the yeer of oure lord mcccc xiiij^{mo}.* Verba translatoris—and I, the symple and vnsuffisaunt translatore of this litel book pray and beseke, as lowely as as I kan, to the reder or herer of this processe to forgeue it me, yt I haue not translated worde for word, as it was in the frensche, somewhat because of ille wrytyng of myne exampler, somewhat because of hard frensch, specially sith I am but litel expert in that langage; somewhat also, because of some thinges yt were diffuse and in som place ouerderk. Wherefore I haue in dyuers places added and withdrawe litel, what as me semed needful: no thing chaunging of the processe, ne substaunce of the matiere, but as myghte be most lusti to the reder or herer of the matiere.

"Also, I must excuse me to the reder or herer of the matiere, in som place thei it be over fantastyk, nought grounded, nor foundable in holy Scripture, ne in Doctoures wordes; for I myghte not go fro myne auctore.

"Also in myn addicions, specially in pletyng of mercy, and in the sermon of Doctrine of nature, of the soule—and here at the ende in the matter of the Trinite, if I haue said owt other than Autentik, I beseche you all to amende it, which yt haue kunnyng in yt matiere, more than haue I; for myn is simple, and of litel value.

"This is the mark at the begynnyng of myn addicions A K and this at the ende, R. W."


11





Notes.

NOTE A, page 19.

 *ERPENT with a human head.* Perhaps the most ancient representations of this figure are to be found in those papyri of the ancient Egyptians called the "Ritual of the Dead," in which are depicted the progress of the soul through the regions of the nether world (Hades) to a future state of existence. Facsimiles of the Ritual have been given in the great French work entitled "Description de l'Egypte," "Rossellini Monumenti dell' Egitto," Dr. Lepsius's "Todten Buch," Lord Belmore's "Hieroglyphic Monuments" (plates), and others. A similar form occurs in several of the woodcuts inserted in Antoine Verard's prose version of "Le Pèlerinage de l'Âme" (specimens of which are given in the present volume). At the end of the pilgrimage represented in the Egyptian papyri, the soul is conducted by her guardian angel into the great Hall of Judgment, where the deeds done in the body are placed in the balance in the presence of Osiris, the judge of the assize, who passes sentence. A representation of the same scene became a favourite decoration in mediæval Christian Churches, of which many vestiges have been discovered of late years in this country; with this difference, that in these fresco paintings St. Michael was substituted as judge of the tribunal for Osiris. In the woodcuts above mentioned, published by Verard, the woman-headed serpent pursues the soul, like an accusing spirit, into the Hall of Judgment, seats herself in one of the scales of the balance to counterpoise the good deeds placed in the opposite scale, by the soul telling her at the same time that her name is "*Sinderefs*," or the *Worm of Conscience*. This monastic legend of the fourteenth century may therefore help to explain the symbolic form given by the Egyptians to Remorse of Conscience, under the figure of the Cobra di Capella with a human head.

NOTE B, page 36.

Anone this lady Justice took this balauunce by the rynges, &c. In illustration of this, we may mention a fresco painting discovered in Preston Church, near Brighton, in 1830. The church was built towards the end of the reign of Henry III, and the date of the painting is presumed, from the costume, to be of the reign of Edward I. See *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii. p. 314.

The subject represented is the murder of Thomas à Becket; and beneath the principal figures is an angel in the act of weighing the souls of the departed, an office commonly appropriated to Michael. (See numerous authorities cited in Gough, *Introd. to Sep. Mon.* vol. ii. p. ccxxiv.) The devil is seen striving, by his weight and strength, to pull up the lower and successful scale, in which is a little figure whose fate is in deliberation in the posture of prayer; and beside it is another figure (probably the Virgin) applying her strength so as to counteract the efforts of the adversary.

Of the date and history of the adoption of this religious emblem into the Church we are not informed. The selection of the Archangel Michael from the celestial hierarchy for this office must have arisen from his being considered by the Rabbis in the Jewish Church as the officiating angel of justice, as Gabriel was of mercy; and he continued, probably for that reason, to be so represented in the Christian Church, "bearing the scales in his left hand and a sword in his right" (vid. Callot's *Figs. of Saints*), and he was, moreover, the especial guardian of souls after death;^a and in general, as the devil is the sworn enemy of good and holy men, so Michael is their especial protector against his assaults and accusations.^b There is an early tradition of a contest between Michael and Satan for the possession of the body of Moses (vid. St. Jude's *Epist.* v. 9); and hence it was handed down to the Christian Church, through the writings of the Rabbis, that a similar contention existed for the possession of every departed soul. But in itself the subject of the scales presents so simple and clear an image of the scrutiny to which our works are to be subject after death, that a very slight authority from Scripture (cf. Job xxxi. 6, Psalm lxii. 9, Daniel v. 27, *et alibi*), and the tradition of the early Church would be sufficient to establish its reception in the middle ages. The invention is indeed so natural, that we find it in Homer (*Iliad*, viii. v. 69, xxii. v. 209), in Virgil (*Æneid*, xii. v. 72), and in Milton (*P. L.* iv. v. 995); and Æschylus founded a tragedy upon the same idea, of which, however, only a few fragments remain; but from Plutarch's account of it, and the drawing from it on an Etruscan vase (see Lanzi, *Ling. Etrus.* v. ii. p. 224), it appears to have had the closest analogy with the subject of our present inquiry, for Achilles and Memnon are themselves placed in the scales of Jupiter, and their mothers, standing beside each scale, are praying to him for the success of their sons. In Homer, Virgil, and Æschylus, the scale ascending to heaven is the token of good; in the prophet Daniel, Milton, and in this painting, the metaphor is changed, and the ascending scale is made the sign of lightness and insufficiency.

In one part of the paintings in the Campo Santo at Pisa we see the souls of deceased men escaping from their mouths in the forms of youthful figures, for the possession of whom much contention takes place between the good and the evil angels. And this same idea is represented in many of the illustrations of the early Block-books, and it occurs also often in fresco paintings on the walls of churches, as, for instance, on the tomb of Henry VII. at Westminster Abbey,

^a "Cum anima ascendit ad portas Hierosolymæ cœlestis Michael Dux Magnus cum ipsâ ascendit, eamque salute excipit."—PIRKE, *Elsner*, c. 42. "Cum David mortuus est angeli superni noluerunt ipsi transitum per portas Hierosolymæ cœlestis concedere. Michaeli vero precepit Deus ut Davidem unctum introduceret per portas."—SCHEMOT^H RABBA.

^b "Michael et Sammael (Satanas) stant ante thronum Sebekine, et Satanas accusat; Michael vero merita Israelitarum proponit."—JULKUT RUBINI, fol. 72, 73. See the interesting and learned Notes to the 4th Discourse of *Reginald Heber's Bampton Lectures*, where the character and office of Michael are treated of, and from whence the above quotations are copied.

and on the tower at Glastonbury, of which the following account is contained in Warner's "History of Glastonbury:"—

"St. Michael appears to have been chosen as the patron saint of all such places of Christian worship as were situated on lofty and commanding eminences. The faithful recognized him as the head of the hierarchy of heaven, the combatant and conqueror of the great dragon, and thought that the sense of his dignity and after value of his high achievements would be best expressed by consecrating to his celebrated name those ecclesiastical edifices which, from the loftiness of their site, would be visible at the greatest distance. Hence we may infer that the first structure on Glastonbury Tor would be dedicated to St. Michael; and upon the same principle it was that the Church, of which only the tower now remains, bore the name of the saint in former times, and continues to be called St. Michael's Tor or Tower at the present day. Over the door are two panels of singular sculptures: the one represents St. Michael holding in his hand a pair of scales, and weighing the Bible against Satan, while another devil vainly strives to make Satan's scale preponderate."

"St. Michel. L'archange St. Michel était considéré au moyen âge, comme le protecteur des tombeaux, et le messager envoyé de Dieu pour présider aux destinées du genre humain. Cette mission explique suffisamment le grand nombre de chapelles érigées sous son invocation dans les cimetières et les églises du moyen âge."—*Revue Archéologique*, v. ii. p. 548.

NOTE C, page 44.

It having been supposed by some that the Romish doctrine of Purgatory might have originated in Egypt through the medium of the Church of Alexandria, to those who are interested in tracing the origin the following notes may perhaps be of use in the course of their investigation. "If anywhere," suggests a distinguished divine of the present day, "the Doctrine of Purgatory ought to be found in notes upon Herodotus, Book ii. chapter 123, where the author states the Egyptian belief in the immortality and *transmigration of souls*." Larcher has no allusion to it. In Wheeler's "Geography of Herodotus," p. 439, there is a notice of the way in which students imagine that they shall find in the Egyptian rites some relics of true religious ideas derived from contact with the Israelites. Mr. Wheeler thinks such notions are all a fancy. My own idea would be, not that the Roman Catholic Purgatory was taken from a Pagan or Egyptian source, but that both the Roman Catholic doctrine and the Pagan doctrine have their root in the same instincts of the human mind. Under any system of religion (Christian and Pagan) men feel they have not that purity which God will accept. They also see that there is in suffering a certain chastening influence. These things put together lead them to *invent* (as what *appears agreeable to their reason*) the doctrine of a purification of the soul in a future state. The idea of *fire* being the purifying agent was, I should think, drawn from St. Paul's expression, "saved so as by fire," and our Lord's, "every one shall be salted with *fire*"—both very difficult passages.

"The old Egyptian doctrine of a future state," suggests another eminent divine, "has many resemblances to Christianity. But I do not believe that any of the doctrines were derived from hence. The Egyptian Purgatory, I believe, followed the Judgment, instead of preceding it, nor did the Roman Catholic doctrine of Purgatory originate in Egypt, but in Western Africa and in Rome. The two fathers in whose writings it first appears are (1.) Augustine and (2.) Gregory

the Great. Had it come from Egypt, we should have heard of it first in Alexandria, and it would have been adopted by the Eastern Church, which is not the case."

"Broughton has endeavoured to prove that this notion has been held by Pagans, Jews, and Mohammedans, as well as by Christians; and that in the days of the Maccabees the Jews believed that sin might be expiated by sacrifice after the death of the sinner."—Buck's *Theological Dictionary*, Article "Purgatory."

"Rolls of papyrus filled with pictures, and explanations of them in hieroglyphics, are not unfrequently found in the tombs and mummy-pits of Egypt. The contents are always repetitions or abbreviations of the same formula. This has been called the Great Ritual, or, more properly, the Book of the Dead, for the first part of it contains the adventures of the body, and the second those of the soul, after death. This last commences with a scene representing the bark of Athom, the setting sun, in the twelfth hour of the day, in which the soul has just embarked for the purpose of being conveyed in it to the nether world. The first character of the hieroglyphic name of Heliopolis appears near the boat, denoting that the scene is laid there. After this descent the soul met with many adventures in the regions of the dead. It had to contend with many enemies, and to appease many divinities, before it arrived at the great hall of truth or judgment, where all its actions while incarnate in the body were weighed in the balance, and its future destinies depended on the result of the ordeal. The presiding Judge at this assize is sometimes Osiris, and sometimes Athom, in the many repetitions of the judgment scene that occur on monuments of every description."—*Egypt; her Testimony to the Truth*, page 17.

"A belief in transmigration suggested to the Egyptians the possibility of the soul being condemned to inhabit the body of some unclean animal.

"It is true that the duration of this punishment was limited according to the extent of the crimes of which the accused had been guilty, and when the devotion of friends, aided by liberal donations in the service of religion, and the influential prayers of the priests, had sufficiently softened the inexorable nature of the gods, the period of this state of Purgatory was doubtless shortened, &c.

"Plutarch says that 'the Egyptians thought the souls of men, which still survive their bodies, returned into life again in animals;' and that 'they considered it right to prefer for sacrifice those in whose bodies the souls of wicked men were confined during the course of their transmigration;' while the precept in the Golden Verses of Pythagoras commands men to abstain from food connected with the purifications and solution of the soul.

"The reason of this purification of the soul I have already noticed, as well as the greater or less time required, according to the degree of sin by which it had been contaminated during its sojourn in the world. Herodotus fixes the period at three thousand years, when the soul returned to the human form; and Plato says, 'If any one's life has been virtuous, he shall obtain a better fate hereafter; if wicked a worse.'"—RAWLINSON'S *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. pp. 428-9.

"Une partie des païens, surtout les Platoniciens, ont cru que les âmes étaient purifiées par le feu après la destruction de leurs corps. Platon, dans un de ses dialogues, semble reconnaître un tribunal, où les morts qui n'ont commis que des péchés légers seront condamnés dans l'autre monde à des peines finies et proportionnées à leurs fautes. Les Egyptiens, les Hindous, les Bouddhistes et tous les autres peuples qui croient à la métempsycose, admettent par là même un purgatoire; car la transmigration des âmes n'est, suivant leur doctrine, qu'un moyen d'expiation et de purification, après lequel seulement les âmes peuvent jouir de la béatitude.

“Plusieurs peuples anciens avaient aussi et plusieurs religions modernes ont encore coutume de purifier par le feu ; pour cela on passe rapidement à travers des flammes, ou on expose la personne qui a des souillures à la chaleur plus ou moins intense du feu. Tels étaient les Ammonites, les Phéniciens, les Carthaginois ; tels sont encore les Parfis, les Siâmois, les Régonans, les Ostiabs, &c.”—*Encyclopédie Théologique*, par M. L'ABBE MIGNE.

NOTE D, page 70.

This nether sphere after the words of Ptolome. “The ‘Ptolemaick System’ (of the heavens) is that system which was invented by Ptolemy, the great Alexandrian astronomer, the illustrator and maintainer of it, though the invention was much older, having been held by Aristotle, Hipparchus, &c.

“This is an *hypothesis*, order, or disposition of the heavens and heavenly bodies, wherein the earth is supposed to be at rest and in the centre, and the heavens to revolve round it from east to west, carrying with them the sun, planets, and fixed stars, each in their respective spheres. Next above the earth is the Moon, then the planet *Mercury*, next *Venus*, above her the *Sun*, next above him *Mars*, and then *Jupiter* ; beyond him *Saturn*, over which are placed the two *Crystalline* spheres, and lastly the *primum mobile*, supposed to be the first heaven, that gives motion to all the spheres.

“This system was generally believed till the discovery of *America* disproved one part of it, and the consideration of the rapid motion of the Sun and the other planets put Nicholas Copernicus, a famous German mathematician, about two hundred years ago, upon forming a new system that might be more consistent with the celestial phenomena, and late improvements have put this *Ptolemaick system* quite out of countenance, and even demonstration is not wanting to confute it.”—BAILEY'S *Dictionary*.



Glossary.

ACCYON, action, suit at law.
Admenusyng, diminishing, lessening.
Adrede, to dread.

Agryse, to terrify, to disfigure, to be terrified.
Algate, always.

Aloutetb, boweth down before.

Alowe, below, low down, beneath.

Amenuffing, amenufe, to diminish.

Ample, to embrace, seize, partake of.

Anetiz (or anempst), against, concerning, with respect to.

Anoyed, turn away, avert.

Appelyn, to appeal, accuse.

Appeyre (more commonly apayre), to impair, to become or make less or worse, to decrease.

Arest, stopped, prevented from proceeding further.

Afozt (more commonly affote), to dote upon, to seek affectionately.

Affestyb, assaileth.

Astatis, estates, dignities.

Auterer, a person who stands or ministers at an altar.

Ayenseing, denying, gainfaying.

Basene, clad, clothed, adorned.

Bilapped, wrapped up, enveloped.

Biwernyd, refused.

Bote, help, remedy, means of salvation.

Bowkid (commonly bouked, from bouke, to wash clothes; sub. a pail), purified by means of water.

Brecke, wild tract of country.

Bryse, to bruise.

Bu/skyb, to busk, to go; to array, prepare, make ready.

Bybete, promised, didst vow.

Bybote, to vow, promise.

Byleue (more commonly bilive), faith, belief.

Byreuen, bereaved.

Bysene, myself; look about me.

Bywernyd, forbidden, refused.

Careyn (oftener written caraing, from which carrion), a dead body, a carcase.

Caste, plot, devise.

Cautel, a cunning trick.

Cauyllacion, cavilling, dispute.

Cbere, countenance, behaviour, entertainment.

Cbese, to chose.

Clothes, claws, talons.

Commynner, a partaker, sharer, communicant.

Competister, calculator, reckoner.

Conne, to know; to be able.

Connyng, learning, knowledge.

Costeyed, coasted, kept along side of, approached.

Cours, running, haste, eagerness.

Cryden, cried.

Dekene, deacon.

Dele, circumstance, time, way.

Derworthy, preciously, closely.

Doele, dole, grief, sorrow.

Dyapente, dyapason, dyatefferon, terms used to the stops in organ playing—a fifth, the whole swell and a fourth.

Dyght, disposed, decked out, prepared.

Dykerly, thick.

Dysclaundrynge, slandering.

Dyte, ditty.

Efte, eft, again; also soon, speedily.

